

Yeltsin wins world acclaim as junta flees and troops return to barracks

# Gorbachev flies back and takes charge after coup collapses

From Mary Dejevsky and Bruce Clark in Moscow

**PRESIDENT** Gorbachev flew back to Moscow to reclaim power last night after the hardline coup against him collapsed and its conspirators fled.

All restrictions imposed during the Soviet leader's sixty hours under house arrest were lifted, and tens of thousands of people surged on to the streets to celebrate a victory for democracy.

The military units that had been deployed during the short-lived state of emergency withdrew to their barracks, and Mr Gorbachev declared that he was taking personal control of the armed forces.

He told Soviet television that he was in full control of the country and would be resuming his normal duties in a few days.

In his statement, which was read by an announcer, Mr Gorbachev credited the "decisive actions of the democratic forces of the country" for foiling the coup. Similar tributes flowed from around the globe as world leaders expressed joy and relief at the demise of the eight-man junta that had seized power on Monday.

President Bush declared that Boris Yeltsin, the Russian president who had been the spearhead of the resistance, had shown tremendous courage. "He will have a well-earned stature around the world that he might not have had," he said. Margaret Thatcher, who at one stage yesterday had been asked to lead an international commission to ascertain Mr Gorbachev's state of health, said that Mr Yeltsin and the mayor of Leningrad, Anatoli Sobchak, had reacted magnificently. Mr Yeltsin had been "courageous, bold, decisive".

Javier Perez de Cuellar, the United Nations secretary-general, said he was deeply impressed by the courage of those who had stood for democratic values.

The Russian leader gave the first hint that the coup was collapsing when he addressed his parliament yesterday morning. He had been invited by the head of the KGB to fly to the Crimea to see Mr Gorbachev. "Of course I re-



Yeltsin yesterday: the brave new Titan of Soviet politics. Page 14

**FREEDOM'S RETURN**  
How Gorbachev's Soviet Union fought off a new era of oppression. Page 2

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A day that began in bloodshed ended with the Soviet president's return. Page 3

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How the world - or most of it - welcomed the restoration of the status quo. Page 5

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ing crowds, their tanks strewn with flowers. "We're leaving. We're leaving for ever," one soldier shouted. The 11pm to 5am curfew imposed the night before was lifted. General Nikolai Kalinin, the Moscow commandant appointed by the coup committee, described it as "inappropriate".

By mid-afternoon, the independent Russian television channel and all unofficial radio stations had been restored. The independent press is expected to be back on the streets today.

Throughout yesterday, Soviet institutions and individuals that had remained silent while the emergency committee was in control queued up to make public denunciations of the coup. The deputy general secretary of the Soviet communist party, Vladimir Ivashko, issued a statement dissociating the party from the coup and pledging the party's support for democracy. He was one of a number of senior officials reported ill on the day of the coup. Although all the coup committee members were also senior party men, the absence of any statement from the Communist Party had left its allegiance in doubt.

Other ailing officials had included the foreign minister, Aleksandr Bessmertnykh, who appeared at a press conference in the early evening to announce that the foreign ministry acted only in accordance with the constitution and the law and to declare the coup unconstitutional.

Mr Bessmertnykh, who insisted that his illness was not "diplomatic", pleaded that foreign leaders "who are weighing their actions should think of the consequences of those actions on the lives of people in the Soviet Union, so that they should not suffer more than they already have".

Two of Mr Gorbachev's closest associates also gave press conferences: Arkadi Volynsky, who was accompanied by presidential security council members, Vadim Bakatin and Yevgeni Primakov, as well as Mr Gorbachev's official spokesman, Vitali Ignatenko, and Aleksandr Yakovlev, who gave a warning of the coup danger when he resigned from the Communist party last week. Mr Volynsky is also the official masterminding plans for the conversion of Soviet defence industries to civilian production and the country's privatisation programme.

Out on the streets of Moscow, still paralysed by blockades of buses, lorries and concrete blocks, the revelry began towards nightfall. An ebullient crowd swarmed through still-closed streets to the Russian parliament, celebrating their victory. When General Konstantin Kobets - named Russian defence minister by Mr Yeltsin after the coup - appeared on the balcony, the demonstrators cheered wildly. "We have passed the political rubicon," he told them; they roared in reply. "The victory is yours," he intoned.

"The threat of action from the army has now passed," he said slowly. And as if in confirmation, the banging and revving of barricades being dismantled could be heard in the background. After making a plea for the observance of order and discipline as the troops left town, he announced solemnly: "The state of emergency has been lifted."

Hurrah, the crowd shouted back. "The curfew has been cancelled." "Hurrah, hurrah," echoed round the growing mass of people. "That is your victory and a victory for common sense."



Winning smile: a young Soviet soldier riding atop one of the armoured vehicles withdrawing from Manezh Square, within sight of the Kremlin, revealing his elation yesterday over being stood down at the end of the abortive coup

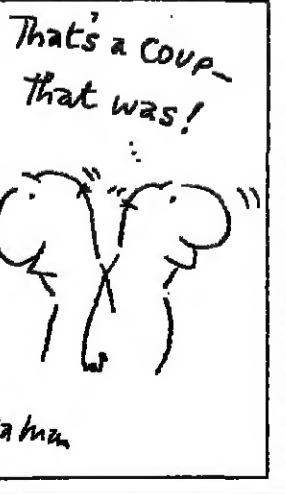
association of state enterprises.

In Latvia, the parliament followed Estonia and Lithuania to declare full and immediate independence. Latvian Radio said President Gorbunov had signed a decree at the parliament in Riga.

"The political situation is such that we had to do it now," Aldis Bezins, the Latvian representative in Estonia, said, adding he hoped other countries would now recognise the republic.

The Latvian foreign minister, Janis Jurkans, also predicted that Mr Gorbachev was finished as leader of the Soviet Union. He said that Mr Yeltsin would emerge strengthened from the crisis. "and there are lots of democrats who could be the leader of the new union. I think the new leader will be Boris Yeltsin. I feel Gorbachev's days are over. He is finished as a political leader in the USSR."

But amid the celebrations came recriminations. The Soviet prosecutor general's office opened a criminal investigation into the actions of the men who ousted Mr Gorbachev: Vice-President Gennadi Yanayev, KGB chief Vladimir Kryuchkov; defence minister Dmitri Yazov; interior minister Boris Pugo; prime minister Valentin Pavlov; Oleg Baklanov, the first deputy chairman of the Soviet defence council; Vasili Starodubtsev, chairman of the farmers' union, and Aleksandr Tizyakov, president of the



fusion," he said. A Russian delegation did, however, prepare to go in his place.

Reports then surfaced that two of the emergency committee were flying to the Crimea. A senior Soviet official said: "The members are on their way down there to apologise to Gorbachev or whatever they have to do."

Other committee members were said to be heading for Bishkek, the capital of Kirgizia, an arid republic on the border with China about 2,000 miles southeast of Moscow.

As the excitement and speculation about an end to the coup mounted, Tass indicated in a dispatch that the junta had effectively disbanded. It referred to the "former emergency committee" and said all restrictions on the press had been lifted.

By midday, the troops that had come close to full-scale confrontation with Mr Yeltsin and his supporters on Tuesday night were turning tail. Throughout the afternoon, tanks, armoured cars and trucks filed out of Moscow. The defence ministry said that all forces brought into the city under the state of emergency would be returned to base. Although the feared storming of the Russian parliament had never happened, the soldiers had killed three people in a single clash during Tuesday night.

Yesterday, the troops were seen off by flag-waving, cheer-

ing crowds, their tanks strewn with flowers. "We're leaving. We're leaving for ever," one soldier shouted. The 11pm to 5am curfew imposed the night before was lifted. General Nikolai Kalinin, the Moscow commandant appointed by the coup committee, described it as "inappropriate".

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## Sycophant syndrome proves a little rash

By ALAN HAMILTON

**EMINENT** medical authorities have identified a new nervous ailment which they have provisionally named Premature Coup Support Syndrome. Symptoms are an initial feeling of elation often accompanied by babbling, followed by a florid complexion and occasional contortions.

An early victim of PCSS was President Saddam Hussein, who contracted the disease on Monday and is presumed incurable. "Iraq will positively respond to every initiative of friendship from the Soviet Union in its new age," he said within moments of being infected. Struck with almost equal speed and ferocity was Colonel Gaddafi of Libya, who announced that

Gennadi Yanayev's takeover was "a magnificent act that will restore Moscow's prestige".

Outbreaks of PCSS were reported from the Soviet Far East, where the authorities in the Yakutia and Pacific autonomous regions of the Russian Federation expressed support for the coup and called for the state of emergency to be confirmed by the union parliament. Cases were also identified among the leadership of the Palestine Liberation Organisation in Tunis, and Sudanese military rulers in Khartoum, all of whom welcomed the arrival of Mr Yanayev.

Doctors attending President Bush believe he fought off the infection, although some believe that his natural

resistance was not as strong as it might have been. A mild case of the disease affected President Mitterrand, who appeared on television to read out excerpts from a letter the junta had sent him, and to say that it was premature to talk about economic sanctions against the new regime.

Guernan Gventsadze, the Soviet ambassador to Ireland, was stricken with contortions to the tongue while speaking on Irish radio yesterday just hours before the coup collapsed. "In my opinion what has happened is quite constitutional because it is provided in our constitution that in cases like this, when the president is indisposed, the vice-president as second-in-command takes charge. That

is exactly what has happened." Mr Gventsadze's attack worsened as he spoke. He declared that the state emergency committee had wide popular support and that instances of discontent should not be blown out of proportion. His recovery is likely to be achieved only after a prolonged period in intensive care.

Gennadi Gerasimov, former Soviet foreign ministry spokesman and now ambassador to Lisbon, proved that a lifelong diet of oil and sugar, coupled with past regular exercise of putting spin on his masters' words, was a highly efficacious protection against PCSS. "I have not yet been informed that there have been any changes in

Continued on page 20, col 6

## Wave of relief sweeps the West

By MICHAEL BINYON  
DIPLOMATIC EDITOR

**WORLD** leaders expressed joy and relief at the collapse of the coup in Moscow, and hinted that they were ready to reassess the West's relationship with President Gorbachev.

President Bush said he had spoken to Mr Gorbachev by telephone before he returned to Moscow. "The constitutional authorities are back in power and freedom and democracy prevailed," he said. "You can't put freedom and democracy back in a box." The president said it was a "very fine day, an emotional day". The coup leaders had "bitten off more than they could chew".

Javier Perez de Cuellar, the secretary-general of the United Nations, praised the courage of those who stood for democratic values. He said he was relieved that the conflict was on the way to being resolved in a constitutional manner.

Western leaders pointedly underlined the importance of Boris Yeltsin's role in opposing the coup, praising the Russian president for his courage and wisdom. Margaret Thatcher said the main victory was that of the Soviet people under the leadership of Mr Yeltsin. She said, however, that the West's role in making clear that the coup was unconstitutional should not be underestimated.

John Major is prepared to reopen the question of large-scale economic aid to the Soviet Union in the wake of the coup's collapse. As the present chairman of the Group of Seven industrialised democracies, the prime minister told senior colleagues that he recognised that after the momentous events of the

## WHAT THEY SAID...

- My life is out of danger ●  
- Mikhail Gorbachev
- The committee no longer exists. The members are on their way to apologise to Gorbachev... or whatever they have to do ●  
- Colonel Valery Ochilov, chairman of the parliamentary defence and security committee
- Gorbachev's days are over. He is finished as a political leader in the USSR ●  
- Janis Jurkans, Latvian foreign minister
- I will be perfectly calm when I personally command the firing squad that shoots those junta bastards ●  
- General Konstantin Kobets, Russian defence minister
- Yeltsin has shown tremendous courage. He will have a well-earned stature around the world that he might not have had ●  
- President Bush
- The three ugly sisters, the Party, the KGB and the ministry of defence, tried to impose by traditional means their will and it did not work ●  
- Douglas Hurd
- Do not underestimate the role of the West ●  
- Margaret Thatcher

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**SCREEN BLESSED**  
Sophie Okonedo provides the visual attraction as film director Isaac Julien seeks wider appeal. Geoff Brown reports. Page 13.

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Eight pages of top jobs are included in today's Times. Pages 28-35.

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# How the plotters bungled, declined and fell

Michael Binyon chronicles the inept and faltering steps of the disaffected Kremlin hardliners who lost their nerve as the Soviet people rejected the lies and deceit of the old tyranny

NO COUP this century could have had such momentous consequences. Few have ever been so badly prepared and so bungled in execution.

The plotters, a coalition of the disaffected, had no programme, no leader, no pretext and no popular support. They made crucial mistakes: failing to arrest Boris Yeltsin, the Russian president, within the first few hours, failing to cut all telephone and communications links with the outside world, attempting to justify their actions with an inept and hollow press conference, allowing demonstrators to defy the ban on gatherings, vacillating over the imposition of martial law, and in the end quarrelling among themselves as they lost their nerve.

The coup began well. It was not unexpected: only three days earlier Aleksandr Yakovlev, a former senior aide to President Gorbachev, gave a public warning of attempts by hardliners to oust the Soviet leader. But no one had predicted the timing. The junta took advantage of the summer holiday season to catch the world, and President Gorbachev, off-guard. They also had in their hands all the traditional levers of power: the army, the military-industrial complex, the KGB, the head of the government machinery, the interior ministry, the spurious veneer of legitimacy of the vice-president, and a representative of the conservative farmers' association.

They chose a moment when President Gorbachev was out of touch with his supporters and easy to isolate. Surrounding his government dacha in the Crimea, they cut communications to Moscow, replaced his loyal guard and blocked the presidential aircraft on the ground at Foros.

They announced their takeover in the early hours on a Monday — a day after most city dwellers, and in particular residents of the capital, crucial to the success of the coup, had returned from their weekend dachas. Their appeal focused on the issues that have above all undermined Mr Gorbachev's popularity among ordinary people: the breakdown of law and order in the country, rising crime, the chaotic economy, the slide into a state of "ungovernable" anarchy, and the perceived loss of Soviet power worldwide.

But the decree of the emergency committee made a serious mistake: it asserted that President Gorbachev had been relieved of his duties because of ill health. This claim was so ludicrous to all Russians, who had seen the Soviet leader obviously fit and well only days earlier, that even the older generation used to a diet of lies and deceit must have wondered at the use of such clumsy fiction. To the younger generation, who have increasingly taken for granted the liberties and freedom of expression introduced by Mr Gorbachev, it brought back a frisson of remembrance of the old, bad ways: the lies, the deceit, the "common colds" that masked the incapacity of the leaders from Brezhnev to Gorbachev.

Another mistake was the attempt to reassure the population that all was normal by replacing scheduled television programmes with ballet, bland pictures of empty streets and the anonymity of the old tyranny. It only recalled the pre-glasnost belittling of public intelligence.

The coup announcement was made by Tass at 6.18am Moscow time, and an hour later the government news agency announced that a state of emergency had been imposed on certain areas of the country for six months. All power was to be transferred to the state committee in charge

of the emergency — and the decree announced its composition, including Vladimir Kryuchkov, head of the secret police, Valentin Pavlov, the prime minister, and Boris Pugo, the interior minister.

Significantly, however, the committee included no one from any of the republics or from outside Moscow. The plotters were nearly all Russians, promising a return to Russian hegemony. They had underestimated the need to ensure that their plans could be enforced in Leningrad, in the Ukraine and in the other centres of population. Blinkered by their remembrance of a "monolithic" Soviet structure, they assumed, wrongly, that the KGB and the army were still all-union institutions that were able to transcend national divisions and republican boundaries.

At 9.47am, a spokeswoman for the Russian parliament said she believed a coup was in progress. Armoured personnel carriers began to move down Kuznetsky Prospekt, the broad avenue leading from the barracks in the south west of the city to the Russian Parliament beside the Moskva River. The fact that Mr Yeltsin was still at liberty was quickly known to ordinary people. It was the first sign that the emergency committee lacked the planning and ruthlessness to incapacitate all potential centres and symbols of opposition in advance.

It took another two hours before the committee then decreed a ban on the press and on demonstrations, and a curfew to be enforced if there was resistance. Again, this looked like reacting to events rather than shaping them. The threat to the press undermined the committee's failure to enforce an immediate cut-off in information and showed it was either unwilling or unable to silence all sources of free information. Similarly, the plotters made no attempt to restrict or silence Western correspondents, increasingly a vital ingredient in the free flow of information in the Soviet Union. Mr Yeltsin's appeal for support was heard, crucially, by millions.

By midday tanks had drawn up outside the Russian parliament, and in the early afternoon they also surrounded Tass, *Izvestia* and *Moscow News*. The move was surprising: Tass could be assumed to be loyal to the government, whereas *Moscow News* has long been a progressive thorn even in the side of Mr Gorbachev. The junta had apparently now worked out in advance which journalists were to be trusted and which would now be used to purvey the hardline policies.

As Muscovites recovered from their initial stupefaction, crowds began to gather outside the Russian parliament, and began to construct barricades. The junta hesitated in tearing them down immediately or in moving against the demonstrators.

Mr Yeltsin then announced that he was taking control of the territory of Russia, and ordered all army and KGB units involved in the overthrow of Mr Gorbachev to stand down. Fifteen minutes later Gennadi Yanayev ordered a state of emergency in Moscow and in Leningrad.

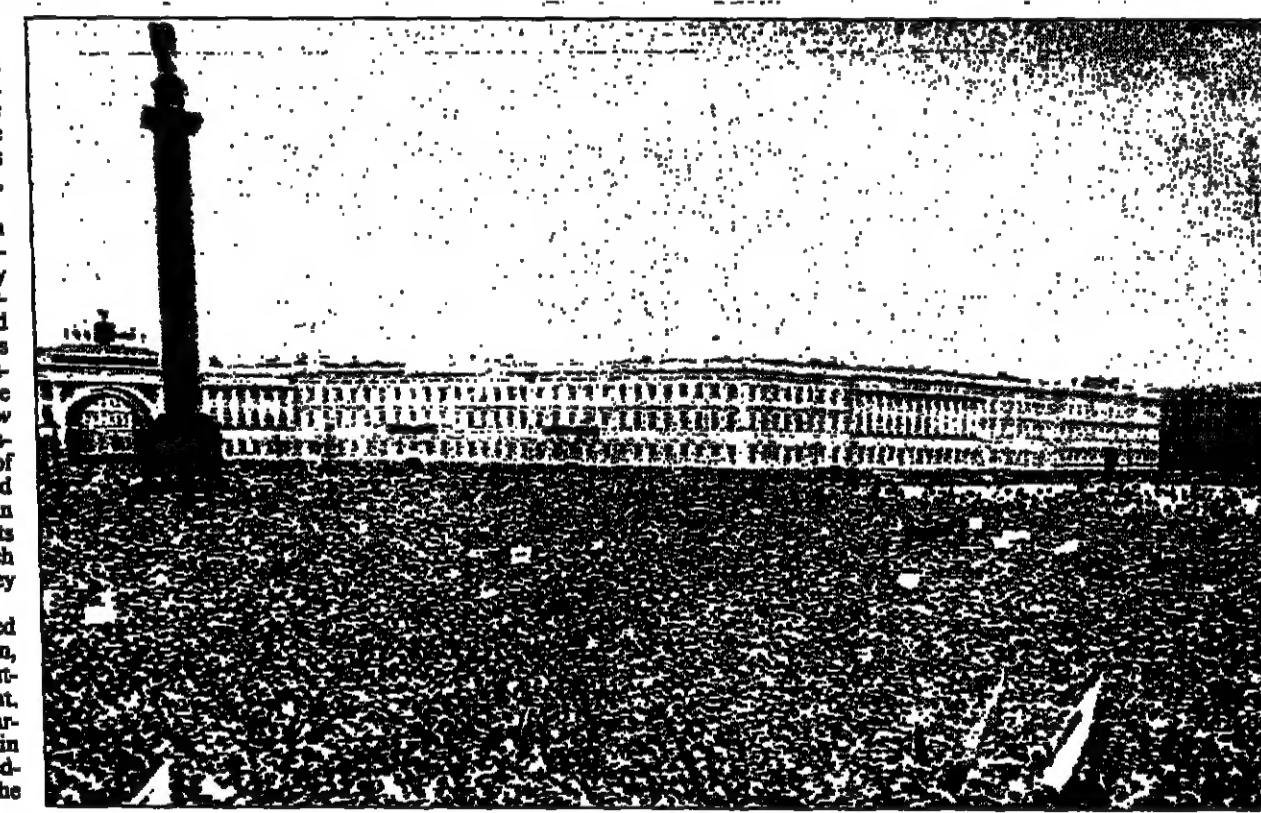
The junta then gave a press conference, remarkable for the bumbling and nervous performance of the plotters. Instead of denouncing Mr Gorbachev for his inept handling of the economy or his moves to dissolve the Soviet Union, the committee said that all democratic and market reforms would continue on course. They said Mr Gorbachev was "resting" in the Crimea; Mr Yanayev even suggested he



Anxious moments: a group of people hearing about the deaths of three protesters in Moscow early yesterday



Under fire: buses burning outside the Russian parliament after Soviet tanks burst through the people's barricade



United backing: thousands of people gathered in Leningrad to call for the reinstatement of Mikhail Gorbachev

could return to office as soon as his health was better. The signals to the world were that in seeking to cloak their actions in legitimacy, the junta were unable to agree what to do with the ousted president.

By late afternoon reports came in from all over the country of a growing tide of opposition. Miners in the Russian Federation began strikes in response to Mr Yeltsin's calls. Leaders of most republics announced that the new decrees in Moscow did not apply in their territory.

The junta acted decisively only in the Baltic states, long

the centre of world attention and bitterly resented by Russian nationalists and hardliners for having defied the Communist party and Moscow's authority for over a year. Troops loyal to the new government seized installations in Lithuania. President Vytautas Landsbergis urged peaceful resistance.

Western leaders, initially cautious in their assessment, began to issue more forthright statements condemning the coup. European Community foreign ministers agreed to hold an emergency meeting in The Hague on Tuesday. President Bush, speaking in the early afternoon in Wash-

ington, refused to recognise the leaders and called on them to restore Mr Gorbachev to power. The message of defiance was quickly broadcast back to the Soviet Union by Western radio stations, which the coup leaders had not tried to suppress.

The first casualty of the coup occurred in Latvia, when Soviet troops shot dead a minibus driver in Riga late on Monday evening. By the next morning, huge crowds of up to 50,000 had gathered around the Russian parliament. Barricades were reinforced as trolley buses, poles, blocks and debris were piled up in front of the 10 tanks that had

defected to Mr Yeltsin. Reports of growing opposition around the country were pouring in and Leningrad, led by its mayor, came out solidly against the coup with demonstrations by around 100,000 people outside the Winter Palace. About half the coal mines in the Soviet Union were on strike, though oil workers in Tyumen continued working normally.

The European Community voted to suspend all aid to the Soviet Union and insisted on Mr Gorbachev's reinstatement. Britain had already announced that its £50 million know-how fund would be held up. In the early afternoon

John Major spoke directly to Mr Yeltsin in the parliament building, who told him that the tanks outside were poised to attack and that he probably had little time left. Mr Major made repeated, but unsuccessful efforts, to contact Mr Gorbachev directly.

Magaret Thatcher, a figure much admired in the Soviet Union, called on people to take to the streets. Later she, too, talked to Mr Yeltsin, and agreed to his request to head a group of prominent doctors of Nobel prize winners to investigate the health of Mr Gorbachev.

In a significant move in Moscow, Patriarch Alexei, the head of the Russian Orthodox Church, gave his support to Mr Yeltsin, and demanded that President Gorbachev be allowed to address the people. This was a potentially galvanising move which could have brought the mass of believers in the countryside, who had done little to demonstrate their attitude to the coup, over to Mr Yeltsin. Eduard Shevardnadze, the former foreign minister, appeared on the balcony of the Russian parliament and made an impassioned speech denouncing the junta. In Kazakhstan, the third-largest republic, President Nursultan Nazarbayev demanded to hear from President Gorbachev.

The Ukraine followed suit. At 8.51pm, the parliamentary leadership of the republic declared the order of the junta null and void in the Ukraine. Mr Yeltsin, spending his second day inside the parliament building, appealed again for support from fellow Russians. His appeal was broadcast by Moscow Echo, the independent radio station. Shortly afterwards, at 8.32pm, the military commandant of Moscow declared a curfew in the capital, to begin at 11pm until 5am the next morning. When the deadline arrived there, there was no attempt to move the thousands of people off the streets.

Meanwhile, signs of a loss of nerve by the coup leaders were growing. Soviet television reported that Mr Pavlov, the prime minister, had been taken ill with high blood pressure on the morning of the coup. At the same time reliable sources said Dmitri Yazov, the defence minister, had resigned, and was to be replaced by General Mikhail Moiseyev, chief of the general staff. It was rumoured also that Vladimir Kryuchkov, the KGB head, had also resigned.

At midnight yesterday, the Estonian parliament declared immediate and full independence, and said parliamentary elections would be held in 1992. Aides to Mr Yeltsin, meeting British and French leaders, and emissaries from the Baltic republics, called for Western recognition of Baltic independence.

Around midnight the situation around the parliament became critical. Tanks began moving up to the barricades, while demonstrators jumped on them, beating on them and arguing furiously with the crews. A tank emerging from the underpass near the American embassy and the parliament was set on fire by a Molotov cocktail. Some tanks opened fire, and three people were killed outside the parliament.

The dramatic pictures were relayed live to the West, and reporters inside the parliament were in constant telephone contact with broadcasting stations around the world. The junta made no attempt to cut off access, and the tanks withdrew, making no general assault on the building. Traffic flowed normally, though three battered tanks, and two burnt-out trolley-buses blocked the busy ring road.

The third day of the coup proved decisive. By 5.40am Soviet troops had occupied the radio and television stations in Estonia and Lithuania. But in Moscow the opposition was now growing more confident. Mr Yeltsin had further telephone

conversations with Western leaders. The KGB denied that its chairman had resigned, but the head of the Russian KGB said he owed allegiance only to the Russian leader. The head of the Moscow garrison also said he owed allegiance to Mr Yeltsin.

In Brussels, Nato began an emergency meeting of foreign ministers, and James Baker, the American Secretary of State, met Andrei Kozyrev, Mr Yeltsin's foreign minister. The Nato meeting later called for the reinstatement of Mr Gorbachev.

Soviet paratroopers closed Moscow Echo, the station that opposed the coup and had been on and off the air several times. Soviet agencies, official and unofficial, carried conflicting reports and rumours, all suggesting that the coup leaders were trying to find a compromise. Mr Kryuchkov was reported to have offered safe passage to Mr Yeltsin to the Crimea to meet Mr Gorbachev — an offer he quickly rejected.

The next few hours saw a bewildering tumble of events as the coup began to crumble. At 2.15pm Moscow time yesterday Mr Yeltsin announced to the parliament, now covered by western television, that members of the committee were trying to leave Moscow by air. He told Manfred Wörner, the Nato secretary-general, in a telephone call that he had taken personal command of the Soviet armed forces.

President Bush called a press conference to declare his optimism, after speaking to Mr Yeltsin, that things were now moving in the right direction and hailing the Russian leader's courage. Nato, concluding its meeting, issued only a cautious statement, as the fast-moving events overtook their deliberations. The 16 foreign ministers said they were watching events "with the closest attention".

At 4.20pm the Soviet defence ministry ordered all troops to withdraw from Moscow, Tass reported. Troops and armoured cars began withdrawing to the cheers of the crowds. Tass then reported the disbanding of the emergency committee, effectively signalling the collapse of the coup. The Soviet parliament formally reinstated Mr Gorbachev as president and proposed a legal investigation of the eight-man junta. In Latvia the parliament formally declared the republic independent, following the example of Estonia.

The coup leaders flew to Mr Gorbachev's Crimean dacha to "apologise" for their actions, but failed to meet him. Earlier rumours suggested they might try to flee to France, in Kirghizia. At 6pm, with the coup officially over, the Soviet embassy in Britain called a press conference to thank the British people for their "solidarity" in standing by the Soviet Union during its "dramatic and trying time". A spokesman said the entire embassy welcomed the restoration of democratic freedoms and rule of law in the Soviet Union.

In Moscow Aleksandr Besmertnykh, the foreign minister who had disappeared from public view for three days, announced that Soviet reforms, especially in foreign policy, would continue unchanged after the failure of the coup. Tass announced that the prosecutor-general had already opened a criminal investigation into the coup.

President Bush announced in Kennebunkport that he had spoken to Mr Gorbachev by telephone and he was back in power. The American president said freedom and democracy had prevailed. Robert Strauss, the new American ambassador in Moscow, was among the senior Western ambassadors who went to the airport before Mr Gorbachev returned to Moscow in the evening.

Mary Dejevsky, page 14  
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Leading articles, page 15

## CHRONOLOGY

### Hour by hour through the days of tension

#### August 19

0618: Tass reports that Gennadi Yanayev, the Soviet vice-president, has taken over from President Gorbachev, who has resigned because of ill health a day before signing the new Union Treaty.  
0715: Tass announces a six-month state of emergency throughout the Soviet Union. Power passes to "the State Committee on the State of Emergency in the USSR".  
1100: Rumours of arrests circulate in Moscow.  
1141: First decree is announced banning protests, introducing a curfew and muzzling the press.  
1146: Boris Yeltsin, the Rus-

sian Federation president, denounces the deposing of Mr Gorbachev as a military coup. Witnesses say tanks have begun to encircle the White House, the Russian parliament.

1330: Food prices cut and pensions increased.  
1400: Armoured cars surround the offices of Tass, *Izvestia* and *Moscow News*, the radio station. Dr Vytautas Landsbergis, the president of Lithuania, appeals to the United Nations. An estimated 5,000 people surround the Russian parliament to protect it from attack.  
1711: Mr Yeltsin orders all army and KGB units involved in the coup to stand down.

1726: Mr Yanayev declares state of emergency in Moscow and Leningrad. Russian miners begin a strike. Troops seize buildings in Lithuania.

0147: A minibus driver, the coup's first casualty, is shot dead in Latvia. During the night barricades around the White House are fortified, oil workers in Tyumen ignore a strike call, and the republics begin to fight back.

1824: Nursultan Nazarbayev, president of Kazakhstan, the third biggest republic, denounces coup leaders. In the Ukraine, vital to the future of the coup, Leonid Kravchuk,

the president, says he will ignore decrees from junta.  
2051: Mr Yeltsin appeals for volunteers to man the barricades.  
2132: Moscow's military commander declares 11pm curfew which is largely ignored.  
2136: Valentin Pavlov, the Soviet prime minister, is said to be ill, and rumours circulate that Dmitri Yazov, the defence minister, has resigned.

0010: Estonia declares immediate independence.  
0200: Three people killed near Russian parliament as Soviet armour fails to take the building.

0540: Soviet troops take control of several radio towers in the Baltic republics.  
1415: Mr Yeltsin tells Russian parliament that junta members are trying to escape. Confusion in Moscow. Reports of troop movements around Kiev, the Ukrainian capital.  
1620: Soviet ministry of defence orders its troops to withdraw from Moscow. They obey, to joyful cheers from bystanders. Whether or not the hardline leaders of the coup have been arrested remains unclear.  
1914: President Gorbachev reinstated.

Moscow time throughout

## ASYLUM

### Russians try to stay in West

From REUTER IN WARSAW

SOVIET citizens reluctant to go home have been flocking to embassies in Warsaw to ask for visas to stay in the West. Queues formed outside several embassies yesterday for the third consecutive day.  
An American consular official said the Warsaw embassy received about 50 applications for tourist visas or political asylum from Soviet citizens on Tuesday. "It's not crowds, but normally we get three or four applications from Soviet citizens a day, so it's pretty dramatic," he said.  
The Canadian consul, Renald Dussault, said the

embassy received more than 100 applications for permanent residence from Soviet citizens on Tuesday. "Usually we have just a trickle," he said. "Some of them spent most of the night queuing in front of the embassy."  
Spokesmen for the Australian and Swedish embassies also reported a sharp increase in applications. Each said they received about 50 applications or enquiries on Tuesday.  
"Most of them indicate that because of the situation in the Soviet Union they don't wish to go back at this stage," an Australian official said.  
Poland has also reported an

increase in the number of Soviet citizens applying for permanent residence. The official PAP news agency said the government's plebiscitary for refugees had received 150 applications in the past few days.  
● Jerusalem: The Israeli prime minister, Yitzhak Shamir, last night called on all Soviet Jews to come immediately to Israel, saying that history had shown that Jews were always "the first victims" in times of crisis. "Our message to the Soviet Jews is that you should all come to us now. Do not hesitate, do not wait," he said.



# Fate throws wronged reformer and democracy's defender together

Richard Owen seeks to answer the question on many lips: who will emerge stronger in the Soviet Union from the dramatic events of the past three days, President Gorbachev or President Yeltsin?

BEFORE Mikhail Gorbachev's return to Moscow, some coup leaders, victims of their own hubris, were reported to have crept like shamefaced schoolboys down to the Crimea to say sorry to the man they thought had been consigned to what Trotsky used to call, in an earlier upheaval, "the dustbin of history".

Instead, Mr Gorbachev, in an astonishing three days which shook the world, could emerge far stronger politically than he was in that fateful hour when the KGB dared to lay hands on him. Some would say his stature is now such that he is invincible. Some, at least those given to conspiracy theories, even suggested yesterday that Mr Gorbachev had organised the whole thing. Reform, free speech, pluralism—all will be firmly back on the Soviet agenda in a way which must strike deep into the hearts of the discredited hardliners.

But is Mr Gorbachev, out of

from the world and the trappings of power for three days, really the victor, or does the honour go instead to Boris Yeltsin, his life-long rival? Mr Yeltsin may eventually challenge Mr Gorbachev in popular elections, with Mr Gorbachev gradually reduced to a more ceremonial role.

Mr Yeltsin's performance throughout has been faultless. He demanded the return of Mr Gorbachev as the constitutional Soviet leader, and used his powers as Russian president to persuade the troops—many of them ordinary Russian lads who admire the Yeltsin style—to join him, or at least to withdraw. For the most part they would not fire on their own people; above all they wanted no return to the numbing lies and authoritarianism of the past. Mr Yeltsin was calm, courageous, statesman-like, moving Mr Bush yesterday to observe that the Russian president had taken a "quantum

leap". This was no longer the flamboyant and impulsive Mr Yeltsin beloved of profile writers: this was a man of stature.

While Mr Gorbachev languished at Foros, suddenly impotent, deprived of his officials, papers and communications equipment, Mr Yeltsin was the man of the moment in Moscow. Satellite television beamed him to the world: here standing on a tank; here talking to President Bush and Mr Major on the telephone from his beleaguered headquarters; here consulting his aides while young armed volunteers guarded him with fierce loyalty. His tone was measured, his demand for the arrest and

punishment of the coup leaders authoritative. If it was bluff—and he cannot have known how many army or KGB officers would obey him rather than the junta—it never showed.

Mr Gorbachev, meanwhile, was incarcerated in a heavily guarded complex above the sparkling sea near Yalta, his presidential aircraft and helicopter grounded since dawn on Monday by a local commander (who must now be a very worried man). Mr Gorbachev was presumably unaware that Margaret Thatcher and other world figures were trying in vain to reach him by telephone.

He will be encouraged to hear

that Mr Bush and other leaders have, from the outset, demanded his restoration as the constitutional Soviet leader. For that matter this has also been Mr Yeltsin's consistent aim.

Yet the phrase Western leaders applied to Mr Yeltsin throughout the crisis was subtly different: "President Yeltsin" was the only "democratically elected Russian leader". What caused outrage in both Russia and the West was not only the detention of Mr Gorbachev, but the affront to democracy involved in the junta's crass and bungled attempt to assault Mr Yeltsin and the Russian parliament.

It may be that the coup, dismal

failure as it proved, will have the long-term effect of undermining Mr Gorbachev. The debacle strengthens Mr Gorbachev, not least in the eyes of the world, which has long admired him. But in terms of the mafia-like internal politics of the Soviet Union, it strengthens Mr Yeltsin even more. Mr Yeltsin emerges as the man who manned the barricades for democracy, and who demanded Mr Gorbachev's return. Mr Gorbachev is in his debt. Moreover, he does not have the democratic legitimacy which turned out to be Mr Yeltsin's trump card.

The two men will have to return, in the post-coup manoeuvring, to the kind of working relationship they had forged before the coup. For all their ineptitude, the coup leaders struck a chord in declaring that the country was ungovernable and in economic chaos. There will be a renewed Gorbachev-

Yeltsin effort to work out joint programmes on market forces in the economy and the question of the restive republics. They will also have to deal with the future of the KGB and the military.

But Mr Gorbachev was not popular among ordinary Russians before the attempt to topple him, and he will not be popular now, despite a wave of sympathy for his ordeal and revulsion over the crude shock to the political system administered by the junta. He is even less popular in the Baltic republics and other independence-minded regions. Mr Gorbachev and Mr Yeltsin seem fated to work in tandem despite their temperamental differences. But the remaking of the Soviet Union will prove which is the dominant partner.

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Dary, page 14  
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## MOSCOW JOY

### People tired of 'slavery' who defended chance to live

FROM BRUCE CLARK IN MOSCOW

A WAVE of nervous but intense delight spread through the volunteers guarding Boris Yeltsin in the Russian Parliament yesterday as soon as word went round that the tide had turned against the anti-Gorbachev conspirators.

Perfectly on cue, a chink of evening sun pierced the thick clouds of rain that had exacerbated the depression and fear hanging over central Moscow for the previous 48 hours. "We are pleased and overjoyed, because we considered it our duty to defend our elected government," said Vitali Titov, a 32-year-old office worker who never expected to spend part of his summer holidays manning a barricade in hastily acquired battleships.

"We were simply tired of living in slavery, of submitting ourselves to communist propaganda," he declared, with unembarrassed solemnity. "We had only just begun to live," chimed in another volunteer, making a point that was heard again and again on the barricades: that the reform process, of which Mr Yeltsin is now the most convincing standard-bearer, provides the first beacon of hope after 70 misdirected years and three lost generations.

Young people with talent and industry—precisely the ones who find the restrictions of communism most frustrating—are Mr Yeltsin's natural supporters. They have most to gain from the new world of private-sector co-operatives and joint ventures with Western businesses. The sudden, dreadful prospect of being clapped in ideological irons reminded many how much they had taken for granted in the years of glasnost.

Young soldiers from the elite Taman tank division, whose defection to the Yeltsin barricades is already becoming a legend in Russian history, posed precociously in the turns of vehicles which had been strewn with gifts of fruit, flowers and cigarettes.

There will be other legends as well, as personal histories are rapidly rewritten and the number of people claiming to have been standing in the sea of mud in the front of the Russian Parliament at its

darkest hour rises to absurd proportions. "Examine your conscience—whose side are you on?" demanded a banner draped over one of the buses forming a barricade.

By last night, it was easy to be on the winning side, and it was an amusing game for young couples to take snapshots of one another amid the ramshackle erections of wire netting, steel rope and old hotel trolleys which had stood between democracy and the tanks. But the discipline and courtesy of the pro-Yeltsin volunteers was no less impressive during their hour of triumph than it had been when a bloodbath seemed to be an imminent possibility.

With techniques that have been honed in dozens of democracy street demonstrations, a line of them firmly but politely kept a space around the tanks that formed the showpiece of the barricades. A square-jawed, mustachioed tank commander was adept at dodging questions about the circumstances under which one or two units of the Taman tank division went over to Boris Yeltsin, causing shock and dismay in the Soviet general staff.

"We received orders, orders which were aimed at avoiding bloodshed, and we followed them," he insisted blithely. "What, then, does he think should be done to the conspirators? It is the commander's answer to this question which, for all his efforts to play things down, makes clear that something absolutely fundamental has changed in Russia."

"There is a government there," he says, pointing at the Russian Parliament building, as though he had been taking orders from the Yeltsin government for 10 years and not for two days. "Whatever that government decides should be done."

It is suddenly clear that the power of Russia as a republic now exists, not just in ambitious declarations of sovereignty, but in the minds of uncommitted tank commanders, and in the nightmares of cynical conspirators.

Bernard Levin, page 14  
Leading article, page 15



Pulling out: lines of tanks and armoured cars stretching into the distance signal the coup's end as they move out of Moscow yesterday

## THE BALTICS

### Three lands see hope of real independence

FROM ANATOL LEVIN IN VILNIUS

LATVIA'S parliament declared independence from the Soviet Union yesterday, following a similar move by the neighbouring Baltic republic of Estonia on Tuesday night.

The declarations of independence by the Latvian and Estonian parliaments were made in a spirit of defiance and to establish an absolute legal position against future pressure from Moscow. Yesterday evening, however, many in the Baltic republics were saying that, given the support of Boris Yeltsin, real independence was at last a possibility in the

near future. The last reported clash resulting from the coup attempt took place at midday in the Latvian capital, Riga. According to witnesses troops used tear gas and rifle bullets against crowds defying the parliament and several people were injured.

By 7pm yesterday, reports were arriving from all over the Baltic region that Soviet troops were leaving the buildings seized since Monday. Vytautas Landsbergis, the Lithuanian president, said on television yesterday evening he had asked Major-General Mironenko, the local Soviet military commander, to give a formal order for the evacuation. In another sign of the critical shift of authority, within the Soviet Union, General Mironenko reportedly said that he would have to refer to Mr Yeltsin's government for instructions.

As appears to have been the case in Moscow, the refusal of senior officers in St Petersburg to support the coup played a key part in its collapse. General Samsonov, the garrison commander, ordered that paratroops and KGB troops, sent to suppress the council,

should be halted at the city limits. Admiral Chernyav, the officer commanding the main naval station at nearby Kronstadt, announced that the navy would obey Mr Yeltsin's "legitimate government". Soviet loyalists in the Baltic republics were grim-faced yesterday. At the Communist party headquarters in Vilnius, a party member, a local Russian, was insisting that the news from Moscow was false and that the ruling committee there would maintain itself and "restore order". He described Mr Yeltsin as a puppet of the West.

Juozas Jermolavicius, the deputy leader of the Lithuanian Communist party, yesterday denied that he had prior knowledge of the coup and the military occupations, and of having recognised the emergency committee in Moscow. Mr Jermolavicius, who is believed to have been closely involved in the Soviet military intervention in January, could be heard on the telephone, urging local communists not to act and to "leave it to the army".

Given the drastic weakening of Soviet forces opposed to

Baltic independence, and the likelihood that a future Soviet government dominated by Mr Yeltsin and other republicans will recognise Baltic independence, the question now facing Soviet loyalists in the Baltic is whether they have enough support among Slav minorities to maintain themselves without support from

Moscow. The rushed Latvian and Estonian declarations of independence, ending the republics' "periods of transition" and bringing them in line with Lithuania, are likely to have caused alarm to many local Russians, whose citizenship of future independent republics is not yet guaranteed.

## Russian output doubled

The BBC World Service's Russian language output is to be more than doubled from today. Broadcasts, aimed at listeners in the Soviet Union, will run continuously from 0645 to 0035 Moscow time with news bulletins every hour.

The increase, for the duration of the unrest, will make Russian the BBC's biggest foreign language service, ahead of Arabic. John Tusa, the service's managing director, said: "This is an exceptional response to an extraordinary situation."

## Plea for aid

Bucharest—Romania is in danger of being caught between unrest in the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia and needs support from the West for its return to democracy. Liviu Muresan, deputy chairman of Romania's ruling National Salvation Front, said: "We are caught in a vice between two countries which are on the brink of civil war." (Reuters)

## Stasi threat

Bonn—The threat to German security from former East German spies recruited by the KGB has grown as a result of the attempted coup in Moscow. Wolfgang Schäuble, the interior minister, said yesterday. German counter intelligence believes that as many as 400 former Stasi spies who had infiltrated senior posts in West Germany are still undiscovered and reporting to the KGB.

## Kasparov view

Brussels—Gary Kasparov, the world chess champion who was born in Azerbaijan, predicted that the coup would be quashed by today. (Reuters)

## THE REPUBLICS

### Bit-part players helped to shape final drama

By MICHAEL HORNSBY

WHILE the Russian Federation and its leader, Boris Yeltsin, played the chief role in thwarting the coup, outright opposition or lack of clear support from other important republics crucially helped to undermine it.

The opposition of the secessionist-minded Baltic states and Moldavia came as little surprise. Less expected was the strong stance taken by the Ukraine and Kazakhstan, the two most important republics after the Russian Federation. Only one of the 15 republics, Azerbaijan, unambiguously welcomed Mr Gorbachev's overthrow. Those which initially hedged their bets hastened yesterday to condemn the coup.

As the coup was crumbling yesterday morning, the president of the Ukraine, Leonid Kravchuk, telephoned the speaker of the Soviet par-

liament, Anatoli Lukyanov, to say that he reserved the right to walk out of the session of the Soviet parliament due to be held on August 26 if Mr Gorbachev did not attend.

The previous day, amid reports that Soviet troops were approaching the capital, Kiev, Mr Kravchuk, who is leader of the local Communist party, voted with a majority of other members of the republic's parliamentary leadership to proclaim all decrees issued by the coup leaders null and void on Ukrainian territory.

The backing of the Ukraine, which has 52 million inhabitants and is an industrial and agricultural power in its own right, was crucial if the coup was to succeed. Mr Kravchuk heads a moderate nationalist coalition that has steered a delicate path between insistence on full sovereignty for the Ukraine and avoidance of open conflict with Moscow. Immediately after the coup he went on local television to call

for restraint and to advise against protest strikes, but appears to have stiffened his stance as opposition to the coup grew.

The most important reaction among the Central Asian republics, in the past notoriously the most conservative and loyal to Moscow, came from Kazakhstan, which has 17 million inhabitants and the biggest area after the Russian Federation. The president, Nursultan Nazarbayev, issued a statement warning that "if we go further down the road of illegality, the people will never forgive us".

President Akayev, of the neighbouring republic of Kirghizia, who had at first adopted a non-committal stance, yesterday said there was "no doubt that an anti-constitutional coup has taken place". There was no immediate comment on the collapse

of the coup from Tajikistan and Uzbekistan.

Earlier the Tajik president, Khakimov Makhkamov, and his Uzbek counterpart, Islam Karimov, had welcomed the coup as a restoration of "order and discipline". Mr Karimov had, however, qualified his support for the new leadership by saying that he hoped the Union Treaty, Mr Gorbachev's blueprint for a looser federal system, would be signed in its present form.

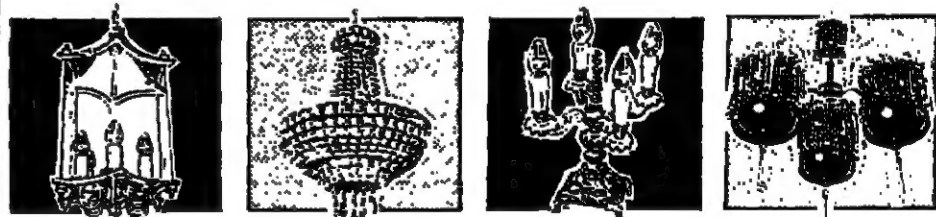
Ayaz Mutalibov, the president of Azerbaijan, was alone in clearly welcoming the coup and the removal of Mr Gorbachev, which he called "the natural consequence of policies which had brought chaos over the last few years". He may have hoped that this would strengthen his position in the long-running conflict with Armenia.

Both Armenia and Georgia adopted more non-committal

positions. Their attitude may have been dictated by their dislike of Mr Gorbachev.

Some 60,000 people who attended a protest rally on Tuesday in Kishinev, the capital of Moldavia, yesterday approved a resolution calling on the Moldavian parliament to ban the Communist party in the republic, according to Rompre, the Romanian news agency. The resolution denounced the attempted coup as a "putsch organised by reactionary communist forces".

In an interview yesterday with a French newspaper, the Moldavian prime minister, Valery Murasky, said he would order civil disobedience if there was any attempt to overthrow his elected non-communist government. If Moldavia seceded from the Soviet Union it would want to retain economic agreements with other republics.



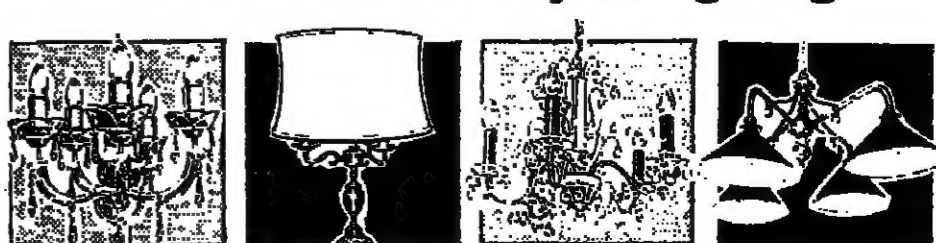
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Sheer brilliance by millet



# Why wavering Soviet generals risked taking a losers' gamble

By JAMES SHERR

THE astonishing collapse of Monday's equally astonishing coup is a tribute not only to the courage of the Soviet people, but to the traditions of the Soviet army.

While the combination of glasnost and economic ruin has not freed the Soviet people from dread, their instantaneous rallying to Boris Yeltsin's banner is conclusive evidence that they have overcome their submissiveness. Today's Soviet citizen is more afraid of destitution than of the authorities, and authorities who lacked the power to intimidate found, in the crunch, that they lacked both the will and the power to coerce.

The ambivalences of the military leadership were evident throughout this affair and long before it. Marshal Dmitri Yazov, minister of defence and a key member of the State Committee for the State of Emergency, had long argued privately that the Soviet armed forces exist to defend the country against external enemies and not its own people.

This tradition, deeply felt if not always honoured, accounted for the early defection to Mr Yeltsin

of several military units and gives credence to reports of generals being arrested and, in some cases, committing suicide. Yet one dare not forget that Marshal Yazov and other military figures did roll the dice, and one should understand why.

A civilian leadership rescued by them might be beholden to them, and if not responsive to their concerns might at least be constrained by them. In this moment of exultation, it would be natural for us to dismiss these possibilities. But it might be both premature to do so and, in the long term, unwise.

For Soviet military leaders, and for their general staff, the post-Cold War world is not a safer place but a more dangerous one. The dismantling of the Warsaw Pact, presented by Mr Gorbachev's apologists as the "crowning success" of his policy, is seen by them as a blunder and a disaster. A military establishment already overburdened by technological change has been forced in short order to uproot forces and infrastructure which constituted the cutting edge of its conventional military power.

While not arguing that military



Retreat from Moscow: army tanks, from the Kantemirovskaya division, heading southwest away from the capital yesterday

force would have prevented revolution in Central Europe, Mr Gorbachev's critics have asserted that a policy based upon its "impermissibility" made revolution certain. More trenchantly still, they have alleged that the same policy induced NATO to fight a war in the Gulf with scant regard for Soviet interests and evident disregard for Soviet reactions.

While not rejecting East-West co-operation, the basic premise of

Central rather than Eastern Europe, it would be fought with allies, and the key Soviet forces committed to it would be based outside Soviet soil. All of these assumptions fell to the ground with the dismantling of the Warsaw Pact and the four groups of Soviet forces in Central Europe.

The military acted on Monday in the conviction that Soviet military power can neither be revived nor preserved unless the Soviet Union survives as a centralised, multinational state. To them, this is not a simply a matter of imperial principle but of institutional necessity. The Soviet army is essentially a reserve army — made up for the most part of cadre formation at 15-75 per cent strength — but capable of rapid mobilisation in war. This ability to double the size of the armed forces in two or three weeks is a vital component of Soviet military power. Yet the devolution of power from Moscow to the republics would cut this system to the quick.

The same is true of the defence economy, concentrated largely in the Russian Federation but maintaining critical components in the Baltic republics, the

Ukraine and elsewhere. By the most expert estimates, this insulated and almost autarkic complex produces weaponry in one half the time and at one half the cost of its NATO counterparts. Genuine republican sovereignty would do severe damage to it, and the introduction of genuine market reform would destroy it altogether.

If the armed forces had its way, what international policies would they like to see? Although they would like to slow the withdrawal of troops from Germany, owing to the harrowing problems of absorbing them — 270,000 officer and NCO families are already without accommodation — the last thing they would do is halt them.

The likely changes would be far more subtle and more insidious. In the first place, circumstances of the CFE (Conventional Forces in Europe) accord, already underway, might become more systematic and more methodical, whether Moscow ratified the accord or not. Indeed, Moscow already seems to be circumventing CFE in a methodical manner, consistent with efforts to resurrect a strategic war fighting capability in contiguous theatres.

The expansion of storage depots for tanks, armoured vehicles, munitions and supplies is particularly significant, given the cadre structure of the Soviet armed forces already cited — not to speak of recent general staff calls for the creation of a 500,000-man rapid deployment force outside the CFE reduction area.

We should not assume that blatant violations of the accord would be essential to these ends. Secondly, relations with the former Warsaw Pact countries could possibly change as well. For here, despite their travails, the Soviet Union possesses very impressive military cards, and there is growing conviction in military circles that political, if not military, benefits ought to be extracted from them.

By ending the game which they started, the armed forces have probably put paid to many of these aims, but not perhaps all. Celebrations as well as congratulations are doubtless due. But the end of history has not come, and it is far too early for the West to go to sleep.

James Sherr is a lecturer in international relations at Lincoln College, Oxford

## INTERIOR MINISTRY

# General Pugov's army kept tight lid on democracy

THE Soviet internal affairs ministry (MVD) is not a place to find reformers. Led by Colonel-General Boris Karlovich Pugov, a member of the aborted coup, the ministry has been at the heart of the conservative backlash against rising crime and ethnic unrest. More than any other organisation, the MVD under his tutelage, has fought to check the Soviet people's yearning for freedom and independence.

General Pugov was appointed internal affairs minister on December 1 last year, after his predecessor, Vadim Bakatin, was severely criticised by the KGB, the armed forces and the hardliners for failing to stem the violence in the republics. Mr Bakatin had planned to delegate powers to the republics for the deployment of MVD troops. But the hardliners said this was a matter for central control.

On the same day General Pugov was appointed, Colonel-General Boris Gromov, a legendary figure from the Afghan war, was promoted to be his deputy. His surprise appointment was an indication that the ministry was to become a principal arm of repression.

Mr Bakatin had formed the so-called Omon, special purpose militia detachments, or Black Berets, at national level, to combat armed robberies in the main Soviet cities and republics. But the Omon, consisting of more than 40 units, today has the image of a lawless organisation responsible for bloody repression against anti-government demonstrators in the republics.

The removal of Mr Bakatin and the arrival of the two generals, one an Afghan vet-

Set up to fight crime, the Black Berets instead became a force for repression, Michael Evans writes

according to Richard Wolf, the editor of *Jane's Soviet High Command*.

Mr Wolf believes that General Gromov wanted better co-operation between different units and had promoted the idea of using interior ministry troops alongside the army in emergencies — "in effect a counter-attack to suppress public disorder on a major scale". The appointment in April of Lieutenant-General Ivan Shilov as first deputy minister of internal affairs responsible for one large regional security organisation, underlined this approach. General Shilov was the senior interior ministry official in Tbilisi in April 1989 when 20 civilians were killed

by troops during public demonstrations there.

The MVD traditionally recruits soldiers who are politically reliable since they are the first to be called in when civil unrest erupts. Although the "independent" republics have formed their own internal security apparatuses, serious ethnic clashes have forced some republics to co-operate with Moscow to maintain order.

The MVD troops are commanded by Colonel-General Yuriy Shatalin, a former senior ground forces commander and "comrade-in-arms" of General Gromov dating back to Afghanistan. The main internal troops' directorate of the ministry controls up to 12 regional directorates, each of which has air and naval support to back up the troops.

But to counter a serious outbreak of public violence, the MVD divisions have always had to rely on support from army units from the local military district.

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Leading article, page 15  
Letters, page 15



Long arm of the army: Soviet "Black Beret" troops searching a Latvian civilian in Riga yesterday, sticking to their orders from the coup leaders

## INTELLIGENCE SERVICE

# Reforms cut central control of KGB network

By MICHAEL EVANS  
DEFENCE CORRESPONDENT

IN WESTERN eyes, the image of the KGB has never really changed. The vast security organisation provided the teeth and claws behind the Brezhnev era, and the hint of teeth behind President Gorbachev. The power of Vladimir Kryuchkov, the organisation's chairman, was always a restraining factor in Mr Gorbachev's more reforming moments.

But the KGB has, in fact, changed. Its role has been reshaped and perestroika has seeped into its structure, not so much in Moscow but in the republics and other regions of the Soviet Union where local KGB chiefs have not always found it easy, or desirable, to obey orders from the centre. Now Moscow no longer enjoys absolute control.

There can be no better example of this dramatic change than the development on Tuesday night in the Russian Federation, when the republic's KGB hierarchy seemingly placed itself behind Boris Yeltsin, the Russian president, and played a part in preventing a military attack on the Russian parliament.

The position of both Moscow and Leningrad in the KGB structure was complicated earlier this year by the appointment as chairman of the Russian state committee for public security of Major-General Viktor Ivanenko, a former career officer with the KGB. He took control of nearly half the former Soviet KGB structure.

"His appointment to the new Russian Federation post was the culmination of year-long hardheaded negotiations between Boris Yeltsin and General Kryuchkov concerning operational functions and the secondment of senior Soviet KGB personnel," Richard Wolf, a lecturer on the Soviet military at Sandhurst military academy, said yesterday.

General Ivanenko made it

clear almost immediately that he intended to do things differently. The day before Mr Yeltsin announced that Communist party cells would be removed from all factories in Russia, the general said that he would be carrying out his own "deportation".

Rapid changes in leading KGB appointments throughout the Soviet Union reflected the gradual erosion of control from the centre. With the

exception of Latvia, all the republics' KGB chairmen were replaced last year. In Georgia, Major-General Otar Khatishvili was reinstated. He had briefly been KGB chief before being removed by a Moscow hardline appointee in 1989. He has a reputation as a reformer. The Moscow centre was clearly angry and tried to undermine the local KGB in Georgia. A KGB 15-man cell from Moscow was

uncovered in April this year and a strong protest was made to General Kryuchkov. Mr Wolf said the incident helped Zviad Gamsakhurdia, the president of Georgia, to purge his former jailers, the Georgian KGB, of all links with Moscow.

The effect of these changes is that Moscow, and in particular the failed coup leaders, were unable to assert total control over the security appa-

ratus throughout the country. If it had come to it, the KGB apparatus in the republics would probably have sided with Mr Yeltsin and the reformers. The KGB hierarchy in Moscow also adapted to the changing political environment, but new appointments were carefully selected to keep the reformers in the country in check. One of the most recent changes instituted by General Kryuchkov was the appointment of Lieutenant-General Gennadi Titov as chief of the second main directorate and a deputy chairman of the KGB.

In an interview earlier this year, General Titov, who is in his mid-40s, gave warning: "Today we are facing the most serious threat to national security since the second world war. This threat, though fostered from abroad, originated at home. Will we preserve the Soviet Union as a great power, or will we allow it to disintegrate into weak, economically dependent countries fighting each other?"

The KGB has its own "army" of about 250,000 uniformed men, including border guards, VIP protection troops and Spetsnaz special forces units. Early last year, Lieutenant-General Ilya Kalinichenko replaced General Vadim Matrosov, an army veteran, as chief of the border troops and a deputy chairman of the Soviet KGB. General Matrosov was a survivor of the post-Brezhnev purges. General Kalinichenko must be assumed to be a supporter of the hardline faction in the KGB.

His boss, General Kryuchkov, had made no secret of his growing anger over Mr Gorbachev's glasnost plans for the KGB. An order for the Lubyanka prison to be opened to foreign journalists this year reportedly provoked the KGB chairman to utter an unfinished threat which began: "If I ever get Gorbachev in the basement as a prisoner..."

Mary Dejevsky, page 14  
Letters, page 15

## THE MEDIA

# Pen triumphs over plotters' sword

By JAMIE DETTMER

AS EVERY aspiring dictator knows, one of the main ingredients for a successful coup is immediate and strict control on what people read in newspapers, hear on radio and see on television.

Gennadi Yanayev and his co-conspirators at first seemed to have learnt that lesson and announced a ban on all but nine newspapers. But their control of the means of communication was patchy and resistance to the media restrictions appeared quickly, all the way from Moscow to Riga, the Latvian capital. Moscow Echo, an independent radio station, evaded control. Closed down for a few hours, it reappeared with the help of Moscow city council.

General Nikolai Kalinin, the military commander supervising Moscow's state of emergency, showed his awareness of the dangers of losing media control in the Soviet and Russian capital. In a statement issued late on Tuesday, he referred to Moscow Echo and said rumours and appeals to oppose the takeover had contributed to violence against army units.

Opponents of the attempted coup in the city passed on Moscow Echo's frequencies by word of mouth and by scribbling them on the photocopies of Mr Yeltsin's appeals which had been pasted on walls. Staff on some independent publications used photocopies and computers to produce leaflets and news-sheets that were distributed to demonstrators and also pasted on walls.

In October 1917, when the bolsheviks seized power from the Kerensky government, they occupied the rudimentary telephone exchanges in main cities, preventing information from being spread by word of mouth. The 1991 coup leaders allowed the telephones to work normally everywhere in the Soviet Union with the exception of Latvia.

There were no attempts to jam the BBC's World Service or American radio networks.

On Tuesday Tass mirrored the battle within the media by swinging backwards and forwards between a pro-Yeltsin and a pro-coup position. By yesterday morning the agency had made up its mind and consistently reported what Boris Yeltsin, the Russian Federation president, was saying.

In one way, Tass's unreliability as far as the compilers were concerned mattered little, since the man in the street does not have access to its reports. The decision, however, was a sign of weakness and the agency's output at least went some way towards informing those in power in distant provinces and regions that the coup was not wholly successful.

Even one of the nine publications sanctioned by the emergency committee of eight could not be fully relied on.

Bernard Levin, page 14  
Diary, page 14



Pugov: seen as hardline antidote to unrest

eran capable of commanding intense loyalty, was grim news for the reformers and for the republics seeking independence from Moscow. In particular, the Black Berets, which would have formed one of the key elements to prop up the coup, increasingly had been seen as part of General Pugov's personal army.

In theory the Omon units, originally set up in 34 cities and regional centres, are directly responsible to local government bodies. But their chain of command is more complex and responsibility for some of their worst excesses, criticised by Mr Gorbachev, could probably be laid at the door of General Pugov.

The general had claimed in an interview that the Omon consisted of only about 9,000 troops nationwide. But in June it was reported that in Azerbaijan alone there were 5,000 Black Berets. In both the Transcaucasus republics and in the republic of Moldova, Omon units have operated with the military in controlling local ethnic unrest,



AMERICA

# Bush faces tough task of choosing his new friends

From Peter Stothard, US Editor, in Washington

TANKS moving out of Moscow, crumpling before the power of the Russian people, was a sight potentially even more important for American policymakers than the fall of the Berlin Wall, revealing not only that the periphery of Soviet Communist power was shrinking but that its centre could not hold.

But, as Western diplomats observed, it was appropriate that President Bush should be witnessing such events from his holiday home at Kennebunkport, Maine, where he is the least trammelled by the bureaucratic filing systems of the past. Central assumptions of the superpower age, still fixed in American minds, will have to be reconsidered.

Three days ago America faced a slowly crumbling Soviet empire which could be turned into a giant, violent, desperate enemy. Two days ago that cementation appeared to have taken place: a committee of elderly hardline Communists, wearing stalinist suits and moustache, wrenched power from Mikhail Gorbachev, *Time* magazine's "Man of the Decade" of the 1980s.

Yesterday the coup was over. What did that mean for future international relations? An influential State Department official described the scene as like "the film record of the postwar years running backwards". Even after the Soviet withdrawal from Ger-

many, Poland, Czechoslovakia and Afghanistan, a firm principle of American policy had been that Soviet tanks could still deliver a military coup *de gracie* that would halt the collapse of Communism's castle.

Instead, it seemed yesterday that, although the guns of yesterday remained the same, the people behind and in front of them were different. "There is no evidence that the coup plotters were more reluctant to shed blood than Stalin would have been," one official said, "but there is every evidence that the power of the people has been transformed: the people in the tanks were not ready to shoot on the people in the streets and the people in the streets knew it."

Intelligence sources speculated that the army's involvement in the coup may have been conditional on its weapons remaining silent and that the plotters' inability to deal with Boris Yeltsin, the Russian Federation president, had left them no option but to withdraw with their tails between their legs.

"For years we have lived by exploiting the balance of superpower forces," one intelligence source said. "We must now face a future when the scales have clearly weighed down on one side."

Mr Bush was characteristically more cautious. He knew that he had done almost nothing to drive out the tanks from Moscow except deliver a few words, at first hesitant and later a little stronger. He had not needed to do more. He is the leader of the world's most powerful democracy at a time when democracy's adherents are everywhere discovering their power.

Choosing between elected leaders like Mr Yeltsin and things in cheap blue suits is, however, comparatively easy. But if, as seems likely, the success of Mr Yeltsin accelerates the process of independence and democracy in other Soviet republics, it may be much harder for America to choose its friends in future Soviet disputes over territory, national identities and the control of weapons, nuclear and conventional.

Almost immediately the question of recognition of the independence of the Baltic republics arises. Mr Bush will want to do nothing until the last vestiges of the coup are removed, fearful that even at this late stage he might rally the army against Mr Yeltsin.

Such conditions, however, will not continue for long. The democratically elected governments of Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia will demand that Stalin's aggression against them should be formally reversed.

The coup's collapse is a boost to Mr Bush's campaigns to weaken Iraq and Libya, the "renegade regimes" who supported Gennadi Yanayev and his coup committee. But it does not necessarily make the Middle East peace process easier.

One of the hardest parts of the new world agenda will be the picking and choosing of new friends.

## President fends off doubters

From Susan Elliott in Washington

PRESIDENT Bush's stated aim to reinstate Mr Gorbachev was attacked by some conservatives yesterday as undesirable, as he urged the Soviet people to continue on the path of democratic reform.

As Mr Bush spoke, events in the Soviet Union seemed rapidly to be overtaking his remarks: there were reports that the hardline coup had collapsed and that President Gorbachev had returned to Moscow last night. The president expressed reserved approval that "the situation appears somewhat more positive" in the Soviet Union, and he said the hardliners who ousted Mr Gorbachev on Monday "may have bitten off more than they can chew."

In a valuable sign of support for the resistance led by Boris Yeltsin, Mr Bush said he had spoken at length with the president of the Russian republic. He reiterated America's wish to see Mr Gorbachev restored to the Kremlin.

The president's hastily arranged appearance at a press conference from his holiday home in Maine took place as observers in the Soviet Union tried to keep up with the growing signs of disarray among the coup plotters.

The collapse of the hardliners' coup may strengthen Mr Bush's position, as it vindicates the assumption made by senior American officials that the putsch could be overturned as highlights the president's ability to handle foreign policy. Mr Bush said that the Communist hardliners had "underestimated the power of the people and... what a taste of democracy brings". He said that a failed coup would be a victory for the reforms initiated by Mr Gorbachev.

Washington appeared still to be trying to make sense yesterday of the events leading to Monday's coup attempt. Mr Bush, a former director of the Central Intelligence Agency, tried to answer nascent questions about why US

intelligence did not anticipate the move. "There are some things you cannot predict," he said. "We do not yet accurately know the genesis of this and it will be some time before anybody does."

Robert McFarlane, a former national security adviser, described the putsch as a remarkable but poorly executed "death rattle" by the old guard. He said the coup raised doubts about whether Mr Gorbachev had the managerial experience and understanding of economics to carry out sweeping democratic reforms.

The *Wall Street Journal* worried that Mr Bush had set himself a goal that was not philosophically supportable. "What is the basis for Mr Gorbachev's belief that Mr Gorbachev can be put back together again?" the newspaper asked. "All around, his political base has withered."

Defending the liberal view that Mr Bush should have shown greater support for Mr Gorbachev, Michael Beschloss, a Soviet affairs expert, said the coup could help Mr Gorbachev's standing abroad. "It is not for this experience, the West might have been tempted to think that the forces for democracy in the Soviet Union were superficial," he said.

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Rising hopes: Mr Bush at Kennebunkport yesterday



Questions of style: John Major and Konstantin Kalagovsky, Boris Yeltsin's economic adviser in Downing Street yesterday

BRITAIN

## Major set to consider aid for Moscow

By Richard Ford and Nicholas Wood

THE prime minister is prepared to reopen the question of substantial cash assistance to the Soviet Union.

John Major, who holds the rotating chairmanship of the Group of Seven leading industrialised nations, has told senior colleagues he recognises that the issue will have to be addressed afresh.

Mr Major is likely to use the opportunity of his meeting next week with President Bush to review the decision at last month's G7 summit in London to reject President Gorbachev's request for a stabilisation fund of up to £7.5 billion before implementing economic reforms.

A planned summit of EC heads of government in The Hague tomorrow has been cancelled. However, with the United States and Japan absent from the European forum, no decisions would have been taken there.

Although Mr Major believes that the West was right to offer President Gorbachev no more than a continuing dialogue about economic reform and technical assistance, he is coming round to the view that the position must be reassessed.

Paddy Ashdown, the leader of the Liberal Democrats, and Neil Kinnock, the Labour leader, hailed the failure of the Kremlin hardliners to drive Mr Gorbachev from power and supported a concerted Western aid programme for the ailing Soviet economy.

Mr Kinnock said his feelings were of unlimited joy and of hope that everyone, East and West,

had learnt the lessons of this dangerous tragedy. The West had a direct self-interest in enshrining democracy in the Soviet Union, he said. Calling for another meeting of G7 ministers, he said: "Substantial technical and economic aid can and should be given now."

Despite a stream of information suggesting the coup had failed, Mr Major reacted cautiously. The prime minister yesterday met Konstantin Kalagovsky, Boris Yeltsin's economic adviser, in Downing Street, and later had a telephone conversation with Mr Yeltsin. Mr Major is understood to have told colleagues that, although events were moving in the right direction, it was not Mr Yeltsin's view that the coup had collapsed. The danger remained that the troops might return to the streets of Moscow.

Margaret Thatcher praised the role played by Mr Yeltsin in reversing the coup but added that the part played by the West should not be underestimated. "The West made it quite clear this coup was unconstitutional, we wouldn't deal with it, it would come up against enormous hostility from the whole of the democratic world," she said in an interview on Sky Television. "I think that must have had a very big effect on the morale of those who wanted to have a coup."

Mr David Steel, the former Liberal leader, flies to Moscow today on a fact-finding mission. He will report back to his Liberal Democrat colleagues on the chances of a non-Communist government emerging.

NATO

## Hurd applauds three ugly sisters' comeuppance

From George Brock in Brussels

FOREIGN ministers of the Atlantic alliance last night welcomed the collapse of the Soviet coup as they met on the Soviet Union was overtaken by quickly moving events.

James Baker, the American Secretary of State, speaking before news of President Gorbachev's reinstatement, said that the disintegration of the coup proved that "tanks and dictat cannot solve the Soviet Union's real problems. The peoples of that country have tasted the fruits of freedom and it will be difficult to get the freedom genie back in the bottle."

Douglas Hurd, the foreign secretary, managed to keep his metaphors unmixing despite the elation. He saluted the courage and determination of the anti-coup demonstrators of the Soviet cities and of the Baltic republics. "They show-

ed," he said, "that they were not prepared to see a revival of history." It was neatly symbolic, he added, that the coup unravelled exactly 23 years to the day after Soviet tanks had rolled into Czechoslovakia to crush the Prague Spring.

Mr Hurd said that the "effective instruments" of power in the Soviet Union - the Communist party, the KGB and the army - had learnt a lesson. "When the leaders of those three organisations, came together and attempted to impose their will on the Soviet people by traditional means, it didn't work. And that's obviously the beginning of a new chapter in the history of the peoples concerned."

Mr Hurd, Mr Baker and Manfred Wörner, NATO's secretary-general, all saluted the courage of Boris Yeltsin, the Russian federation president.

"But for the actions of President Yeltsin," Mr Baker said, "I'm not at all sure that we would be seeing the positive moves that we are witnessing now." Mr Yeltsin himself interrupted the ministers' meeting by telephoning Herr Wörner to report the latest moves. Herr Wörner said that Mr Yeltsin had told him that in the absence of President Gorbachev he had by decree assumed command of the armed forces and ordered the tanks to withdraw from central Moscow.

Mr Gorbachev was unseated just before the signing of a new Union treaty. Mr Hurd said that, as a result of events, the future role of the republics would be "greatly enhanced" - particularly the Russian republic. Afterwards Mr Baker met Andrei Kozirev, the foreign minister of the Russian federation.

GERMANY

## Kohl caught by second surprise

From Ian Murray in Bonn

NEWS that the putsch against President Gorbachev had failed so quickly took the German government even more by surprise than Monday's news that the Soviet leader had been toppled.

Helmut Kohl, the chancellor, was back at his holiday resort in Austria and it was left to Rudolf Seiters, the head of his chancellery, to issue a jubilant statement: "This is a marvellous victory for the people of the Soviet Union and especially for the Russian democracy of Boris Yeltsin."

However, the statement did not mention President Gorbachev by name. It praised "all political powers who have written freedom, human and citizens' rights and democracy on their banner". The happy outcome was the result of the strong and united position of the West.

Bonn had reacted cau-

tiously during the coup attempt because of the presence of 273,000 Soviet troops on German soil.

On the Frankfurt stock exchange, dealers broke out in cheering within seconds of the first news of the coup's imminent collapse. Prices shot up by 2.9 per cent in the few minutes left before the market closed.

Paris: President Mitterrand's personal spokesman said that the French government "had always felt that the coup would fail" (Philip Jacobson writes).

Georges Marchais, the veteran Communist leader whose previous enthusiasm for Mr Gorbachev has been strictly limited, said: "From what is known, it seems that the Soviet Communist organisations played a considerable role in the popular protest that led to the failure of the coup."

## Delors cautions Twelve on embracing East

THE collapse of the Moscow coup will cause relief throughout Eastern Europe, which had feared a resurgence of hardline militarism in the Soviet Union. But the alarming events of the last few days, whatever their final outcome, still serve to underline the instability of the East Europeans' all-powerful neighbour.

The European Community this week has been preoccupied with the question of whether the East Europeans should be brought further into the Western fold to protect their nascent democracies and fledgling market economies. At the EC foreign ministers' meeting in The Hague on Tuesday, for which most of the ministers interrupted their holidays, only Roland Dumas, the French foreign minister, failed to address the question of Eastern Europe.

Other foreign ministers, including Douglas Hurd, saw clearly that the shape of European politics was changing as a result of the attempted Soviet coup. Mr Hurd and Hans-Dietrich Genscher, the German foreign minister, urged the EC to put more effort into concluding association

agreements with Poland, Czechoslovakia and Hungary and helping the other former Soviet satellites, including Albania. The European Commission will meet on Monday to consider bringing Bulgaria and Romania into the agreements.

Jacques Delors, the European Commission president, who opposes EC enlargement at this stage, also sensed that disorder in the Soviet Union means the EC will have to be more open towards its Eastern neighbours. He had taken armfuls of books about Eastern Europe with him on holiday to Burgundy.

President Walesa of Poland was on the phone to Mr Delors less than 24 hours after power changed hands in Moscow. Mr Delors has never been enthusiastic about the prospect of the newly liberated countries of the Warsaw Pact diluting the 12-strong EC and invented the idea of "association agreements" to try to slow down the expected

applications from Warsaw, Prague and Budapest.

The negotiation of the agreements, which has been going on here throughout this year, has been painfully slow because the Western countries are reluctant to open their markets to Eastern imports of coal, steel, textiles and, above all, food. Mr Delors reminded the foreign ministers on Tuesday that he would like a more flexible negotiating mandate and the community's leaders will be asked to grant new concessions to the Eastern economies when they meet tomorrow.

Poland, Czechoslovakia and Hungary, Mr Delors pointed out, want export opportunities more than aid. "They want to sell," he said, adding a sharp dig at the double standards practised by national politicians. "It's no good making fine speeches with a sob in your voice on a Sunday and then on Monday opposing trade concessions which would enable those countries to sell

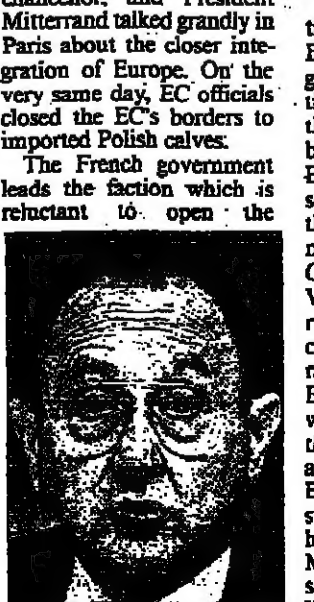
their goods and improve their economies."

Some of this attempt to swing the blame towards the governments is disingenuous. One of the biggest hurdles faced by farmers in the East is the EC's own centralised and highly protected common agricultural policy. One day this spring Helmut Kohl, the German chancellor, and President Mitterrand talked grandly in Paris about the closer integration of Europe. On the very same day, EC officials closed the EC's borders to imported Polish calves.

The French government leads the faction which is reluctant to open the

community's doors wide. France enjoys its maximum influence inside an EC at its present size. The Twelve now contains most of France's natural Mediterranean allies and excludes countries more likely to line up with the more economically liberal governments of the northern half of the community.

President Mitterrand has tried to fend off the East Europeans with the idea of a grand "European confederation", while telling them that it would be decades before they could join the EC. His last attempt to do so, at a meeting in Prague this summer, earned a majestic rebuke from the Czechoslovak president, Vaclav Havel. In a much ruder recent front-page article in *Le Monde*, Mitterrand's immobility over Eastern Europe was wounding compared to the championship of order and stability in 19th-century Europe by the Austrian statesman Metternich. Perhaps, the author speculated, Mitterrand preferred the safe certainties of the Cold War.



Genscher: urging links with former Soviet bloc

Leading article, page 15

CENTRAL EUROPE

## Democracies knock more urgently on EC's doors

From Roger Boyes in Warsaw

PRESIDENT Walesa, warning of a dangerous security vacuum in Central Europe, has been urging European Community leaders to hasten attempts to affiliate Poland and thus prevent Soviet instability from spreading westwards. President Havel of Czechoslovakia has been making similar pleas but Poland appears to have made the more persuasive case.

Mr Walesa told Jacques Delors, president of the European Commission, by telephone: "We cannot now manage without European support, without association with the EC. No privileges - just normal treatment. That way we can help the Soviet Union, too."

There is a degree of internal competition between Poland, Czechoslovakia and Hungary in trying to improve access to the European Community. Mr Havel telephoned Mr Walesa yesterday and the Polish leader assured him that he also spoke up for the Czechoslovaks and Hungarians. President Bush, in a telephone

conversation with Mr Walesa on Monday night, said he backed Poland's attempts to draw closer to the EC and protect its reforms.

The threat of Soviet instability spilling over the borders has certainly exposed the vulnerability of Central Europeans. The Warsaw Pact and Comecon have collapsed but they have not been replaced. Last June Poland joined the Pentagonal group of Italy, Austria, Czechoslovakia, Hungary and Yugoslavia. This tries to co-ordinate policy on such matters as pollution, transport and refugees but its real function, in the words of Gianni De Michelis,

the Italian foreign minister, is to act as an "anteroom for the EC". Yet the EC itself has been, in the view of the East Europeans, extremely sluggish in adopting the new democracies. That may now change as the result of Tuesday's EC foreign ministers' session in The Hague, but the East Europeans are lobbying harder than ever. The EC had plainly wanted to surmount the trauma of 1992 before grappling with those in the anteroom.

For the East Europeans, the most relevant organisation is now Nato, yet there is no question of being accepted as members.

SOVIET TROOPS IN EASTERN EUROPE	
EASTERN GERMANY	
Troops	270,000
Tanks	3,740
Artillery	3,120
Combat aircraft	520
Armoured helicopters	390
Short range SAM	170
POLAND	
Troops	40,000
Tanks	600
Artillery	370
Combat aircraft	0
Armoured helicopters	40
Short range SAM	20









# Top Tory fixer who braved many storms feels the chill again

"MONEY," Sir Edward du Cann once said, is "absolutely fascinating, but it's a commodity just like anything else - food, drink. The trouble is that most people let money be their master when it should be their servant. The ignorance among the general public about how to use money is fantastic."

Sir Edward was writing in the *Observer* in 1967. Eighteen years later, his home was threatened with repossession and he was summoned for not paying water rates. He eventually paid off his mortgage arrears and his rates. In 40 years in the public eye, he has, however, attracted an astonishing amount of negative publicity.

Yesterday, Sir Edward resigned as chairman of Lomho after the Department of Trade and Industry began proceedings to disqualify him as a director of a public company. The DTI action relates to the collapse of the mortgage broker, Homes Assured. Sir Edward said he would fight the action.

In his heyday, he was mentioned as a potential Conservative prime minister. Instead, the political fixer effectively secured the party leadership for Margaret Thatcher.

During a 31-year parliamentary career, he played a key role in the rise and fall of three Tory prime ministers. Sir Alec Douglas-Home (later Lord Home), Edward Heath

Sir Edward du Cann, once tipped as a Conservative leader, resigned yesterday as chairman of Lomho after proceedings were started to disqualify him as a director of a public company.

Sheila Gann and Jon Ashworth assess his career.

and Mrs Thatcher. Blighted by intrigue and uncomfortable headlines, he was always a power-broker, not a leader.

Clement Attlee marked him down as a man with a future after Sir Edward, then aged 27, challenged him at Walthamstow in 1951. Sir Edward's business and political careers were launched five years later. He was elected MP for Taunton aged 32, and he then formed the Unicorn Group of Unit Trusts, which became Barclays Unicorn in 1957. He was chairman until 1972.

Within six years he was a junior minister, first at the Treasury and then the Board of Trade. Sir Alec picked him as chairman of the party aged 41 when the Tories needed a fresh image.

Two years later, he fell foul of Mr Heath and was consigned to the backbenches for the rest of his time at Westminster. This allowed him to pursue a career in the City, notably with Lomho. Although his few remaining contemporaries talk of his oratory and diplomatic skills, there is a thread of unease

behind the praise. Some speak of his great personal charm, while others describe him as too obviously keen on making money.

From his longstanding links with Lomho, his chairmanship of the small merchant bank Keyser Ullman, and an unfortunate catalogue of disputes over unpaid debts, he provided the doubters with plenty of ammunition.

His powerbase at Westminster was his chairmanship of the influential Tory 1922 committee. In 1974/75, as Mr Heath's party leadership was collapsing, Sir Edward convened the 1922 executive at his merchant bank to discuss strategy. The "Milk Street mafia", as the plotters were dubbed, changed the election rules which opened the way for Mrs Thatcher's challenge. She never rewarded him and he was hurt, expecting a seat in the Lords. Nor has he received much sympathy from his former friends at Westminster during the long dispute over the House of Fraser.

His first clash with the trade department came in 1979 with its report into the Keyser Ullman merchant bank. Sir Edward was chairman when, in 1973, it loaned £17 million to Christopher Selmes, a 28-year-old financier who later fled the country. The bank was rescued by the Bank of England lifeboat in 1974.

The report said that Keyser Ullman directors had been "incompetent" in the matter, and quoted Sir Edward as saying the loan was "a very great mistake". He resigned as chairman in 1975.

In 1979, he made £1.4 million from the sale of shares in Cannon Assurance, of which he was chairman, to the Canadian Cascade group. In 1980, he settled out of court over £9,300 allegedly unpaid commission on the sale of his yacht, *Blue Swan*, to a Lynton boat company.

The Homes Assured case hit the headlines in October 1989. In January 1990, Sir Edward divorced Selma, his wife of 27 years. Four months later, he married the widow of Sir Robin Cooke, a Tory MP.



Sir Edward: dogged by negative publicity

Du Cann steps down, page 21  
Dream turns sour, page 22



Paying for the view: Chris Briggs, the writer and Olympic gold medalist, enjoying the scenery from the site of the garage, right, he bought, and promptly had demolished (Ronald Faux writes).

Irritated by the derelict buildings which blocked the views from the Pen-y-Gwryd hotel in Gwynedd across to Moel Siabod above Capel Curig, Mr Briggs paid £40,000 for them at auction and invited the Snowdonia National Park Society to knock them down and return the site to its natural glory. The money came from royalties on the Briggs book, of which more than 36,000 pairs have been sold.

Yesterday, Mr Briggs joined Chris Briggs, proprietor of the hotel and seasoned campaigner against the filling station, in planting an oak tree on the acre of boulder-strewn ground where the garage once stood. The Briggs book royalties have also helped to protect the Torrion estate on Skye, and Ladhar Beinn, a mountain in northwest Scotland.



## Law catches up with man who grew younger

By LIN JENKINS

A MAN who lied about his age 36 years ago while courting an older woman yesterday found himself in court after love turned sour and the woman disclosed his secret.

For years Brian Sale kept the secret that he was six years his wife's junior and not three years older as he had told her to win her heart. On his wedding day in 1955 his age was recorded as 29 and that of his wife

Gwen as 26, and, aided by his mature physique, and by falsifying documents he was able to carry on the deception throughout his life.

He did so even when he took early retirement because of an injury and received over £11,000 in pension payments to which he was not legally entitled. Elwen Evans, for the prosecution, told Swansea crown court. The deception came to light only two years ago when the couple divorced after 35 years of marriage

and his former wife told the authorities that Sale was nine years younger than he had claimed.

When he retired in 1986, Sale received a lump sum payment of £4,500 and then weekly payments totalling £6,500. Sale, a former bookkeeper, of Panteg, near Swansea, Gwent, pleaded guilty to falsifying documents to gain a pension from the Paymaster General and obtaining £11,182 by deception.

Ray Singh, for the defence, told the

court: "By the 1980s he felt he had gone too far to change his date of birth back to the real one." Sale, now 56, told police: "I realised I was not entitled to my pension, but by then I could not do anything else, could I?"

Judge Hugh Williams, QC, putting Sale on 12 months' probation, said: "I regard it as highly unlikely you will ever commit such an offence again." Last night, Sale said: "Quite frankly I'm a bit embarrassed about the whole thing. I just want to put it behind me."

## Fewer take GSCE exams in maths and sciences

By DAVID TYTLER, EDUCATION EDITOR

FEWER 16-year-olds sat this year's GCSE examination in mathematics and there have been significant drops in those taking the individual sciences. The GCSE examiners announced this today as almost 700,000 fifth-formers were due to receive their results.

Provisional figures from the joint council for the GCSE show a 5.9 per cent drop in maths. The decline in the individual sciences continued: 30.3 per cent fewer in physics, 29 per cent in chemistry and 27 per cent in biology.

This is to some extent countered by the 44 per cent rise in the number who sat the single science paper. The National Union of Teachers said that nevertheless there had been an overall drop in sci-

ence of 6 per cent. The GCSE figures mirror the trend in this year's A-level results which showed a fall of 5.5 per cent in maths and 48 per cent in chemistry.

There was also a 2.5 per cent drop in English, 10.5 per cent in history, 13.5 per cent in home economics, 14 per cent in economics, 18.2 per cent in computer studies and 19.1 per cent in social science. There were rises in business studies (44 per cent), Spanish (9.9 per cent), German (8.7 per cent), French (8.2 per cent) and English literature (4.8 per cent).

John Edmundson, secretary of the joint council, said that although the provisional 1991 figures showed that there had been a 0.9 per cent decrease in

the total number of papers sat, this was less than would have been expected from the declining school population. Altogether this year the boards received 5,088,546 papers which Mr Edmundson said indicated that either proportionally more pupils had been entered or candidates had taken more papers.

The overall results show a small improvement over 1990 with 0.5 per cent more candidates achieving grade A passes and an extra 0.7 per cent achieving grades A to C. In the key national curriculum subjects grades A to C were achieved by 53.7 per cent in English (up 1.3 per cent), 43.3 per cent in maths (up 3.1 per cent) and 37.1 per cent in science (down 3.4 per cent).

## Swimming lessons for all pupils

CHILDREN at state schools in England and Wales will be taught to swim before they are 11 years old under proposals for the national curriculum published yesterday (David Tytler writes).

Kenneth Clarke, the education secretary, said that a survey would be conducted to find out how quickly swimming tuition could be made compulsory at primary schools. Robert Atkins, the sports minister, said: "The government shares the view that swimming is a vital life-saving skill."

Mr Atkins, speaking at the Old Trafford cricket ground, launched the final proposals to make physical education compulsory for children aged five to 16.

Pupils will be expected to take part in such activities as athletics, dance, gymnastics and adventure training. Pupils aged 14 to 16 will have to continue with at least two activities, such as football and cricket. The report says that schools without facilities to cover certain activities should use local sports or dance clubs.

## 33 days and 4 deaths later, the cargo arrives.



22 February 1991, Bari, Italy.

Apart from the dead, there are scores more with horrific injuries. It was only to be expected. The ship should never have been allowed to carry 1100 live, untrained horses. The overcrowded second deck was only 5ft 9 inches high. (Barely adequate for the average pony, but sheer torture for the larger working horses.) Even during the 15 hours of unloading at Bari, the horses were savagely beaten with whips.

It is senseless. It is barbaric. Yet it could soon be happening to our horses, transported from Britain.

From 1992, the legislation which currently prevents their live export is to be replaced by EC Regulations which we believe are totally inadequate.

ILPH, as the leading international equine charity, are spearheading the fight to retain our legislation. Please help us. Before it is too late.

Your support so far has helped us to:

- \* Inform, and gain the support of, British Government Ministers.
- \* Lobby successfully in Brussels. The EuroParliament has already voted with us.
- \* Now we must win the European Commission's vote.
- \* Fund major research into international horse transportation.

Please tick as applicable.

I wish to lend my support by: Making a donation towards your '1992 Fighting Fund' of £100 ☐ £50 ☐ £20 ☐ £10 ☐ OTHER ☐

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## Waite meeting

The wife of Terry Waite, the captive church envoy, has met John McCarthy, the freed hostage, to hear first-hand news of her husband. Frances Waite, was said to have had "a very reassuring meeting" on Tuesday with Mr McCarthy and was comforted by news of her husband's health. With her were Mr Waite's brother, David, and Francis Wint, the Archbishop of Canterbury's adviser on Middle East affairs.

## Brokers fined

Carrington Carr, mortgage brokers, of Leicester, was fined £15,000 yesterday after being found guilty of 15 charges under the consumer credit act. The company misled the public over the terms of contract in three advertisements in the *Leicester Mercury*, magistrates were told. The firm denied all charges brought by the county council's trading standards department and plans to appeal.

## Child plea fails

A mother has failed to prevent her two-year-old son being put up for adoption against her wishes. Appeal judges at the Court of Session in Edinburgh upheld a decision that social workers could seek an adoptive home for the child. Social workers moved to secure the child's safety within days of his birth after another mother in hospital said she heard his mother threaten to stab him at home.

## Sculpture appeal

An appeal for £45,000 was launched yesterday to prevent a 260-year-old limestone sculpture of the Saxon god Moma being exported to the Bahamas. The work is one of seven by John Michael Rysbrack representing the days of the week and dates from the 1720s. Tim Renton, the arts minister, has deferred an export order until October 1 to allow time for the appeal to reach its target.

	Number sat	A	B	C	D	E	F	G
Art & Design	209,489	13.2	15.0	21.9	19.1	15.2	10.3	4.7
Biology	180,040	18.3	15.2	21.4	17.5	19.9	10.9	5.8
Bus Studies	180,040	11.3	14.0	22.0	18.1	10.8	13.6	6.0
CDT	82,918	9.7	12.1	24.3	18.8	14.6	10.6	5.5
Chemistry	122,923	16.4	20.1	21.6	15.7	11.8	8.3	4.3
Classical	173,025	13.4	17.7	22.6	18.4	13.5	9.6	4.5
Classical	18,886	21.5	28.8	21.1	10.8	8.3	5.2	2.6
Classical	9,043	22.4	25.4	21.5	15.3	10.7	7.4	4.2
Computer Studies	53,540	9.0	13.8	21.2	19.0	16.1	10.7	7.2
Economics	18,485	10.0	13.9	20.9	17.1	15.1	11.9	6.9
English	24,291	11.0	18.8	23.8	18.8	13.8	9.2	4.8
English Lit	123,185	11.2	18.0	23.1	18.7	13.9	9.0	4.1
French	842,911	8.4	17.2	27.1	22.0	14.4	7.4	2.4
Geography	659,385	8.9	18.9	28.8	22.2	14.7	7.9	2.4
German	444,158	11.8	19.5	26.6	20.9	13.3	8.2	1.7
History	402,885	11.5	19.9	28.2	20.9	13.5	8.5	1.9
Home Econ	292,487	17.8	13.0	15.2	18.7	13.5	14.1	8.4
Mathematics	270,243	19.3	14.3	18.9	17.1	14.3	12.1	6.2
Music	267,391	12.7	15.8	18.4	18.2	14.8	10.9	5.7
Physics	273,440	11.4	15.4	19.9	18.7	15.0	10.9	5.9
Religious Studies	89,509	22.6	17.1	14.1	13.5	10.7	9.1	5.6
Science	182,728	24.5	17.5	17.3	15.2	12.0	8.4	3.9
Spanish	1,387	60.1	20.0	9.7	3.3	1.5	1.8	1.0
Social Sci	1,222	88.2	21.5	10.2	2.9	1.5	1.1	0.4
Statistics	184,735	13.4	18.5	20.5	18.7	12.5	7.6	3.7
Visual Arts	121,922	12.1	17.0	20.2	18.7	13.9	10.9	6.4
Workshop	129,067	8.2	12.5	20.2	20.6	18.7	13.8	7.5
Yr 10	148,133	15.9	12.7	18.5	20.0	18.9	12.9	7.1
Yr 11	132,845	22.3	22.1	19.2	19.2	14.5	11.5	6.0
Yr 12	14,254	51.8	22.1	12.3	7.5	3.5	1.7	0.7
Yr 13	570,878	8.0	9.6	25.7	18.9	17.1	12.5	5.8
Yr 14	606,831	7.2	9.3	23.7	17.2	17.3	14.0	8.9
Yr 15	418,041	23.1	14.9	15.7	18.1	12.5	10.5	5.8
Yr 16	388,444	21.3	15.2	15.9	18.4	13.3	11.0	6.9
Yr 17	38,056	17.3	21.6	22.4	14.1	10.5	7.3	4.5
Yr 18	22,409	18.0	21.3	22.3	14.4	10.8	7.7	4.2
Yr 19	132,355	11.4	15.4	25.1	18.9	13.5	9.1	3.7
Yr 20	180,040	14.1	18.9	24.5	18.9	13.9	9.2	4.3
Yr 21	98,093	12.3	17.3	21.2	15.5	13.2	10.1	7.5
Yr 22	84,889	10.2	15.3	20.2	16.9	14.6	11.4	8.4
Yr 23	174,454	10.4	13.8	19.8	18.5	14.6	11.4	7.1
Yr 24	292,704	7.1	9.9	22.6	18.9	13.9	12.0	7.1
Yr 25	793,802	11.6	13.9	21.2	18.3	15.7	11.0	6.1
Yr 26	844,854	11.1	13.4	23.3	18.3	16.0	10.4	5.9
Yr 27	27,405	22.5	17.5	14.1	13.5	9.4	9.3	5.9
Yr 28	24,831	28.3	17.9	15.0	12.9	8.8	8.5	5.5

Figures in brackets are the results for 1990. All above subjects Grade A=11.0% Grade A-10.0% Grade B=9.0% Grade B-8.0% Grade C=7.0% Grade C-6.0% Grade D=5.0% Grade E=4.0% Grade F=3.0% Grade G=2.0% Grade H=1.0% Grade I=0.0%



# Home Office launches Lindholme prison riot enquiry



Shielded: a warder enters the jail during the riot

A HOME Office enquiry into rioting this week by hundreds of inmates at the Lindholme Prison in South Yorkshire began as an operation to clear up and assess the damage began yesterday.

The enquiry by a senior Home Office official is the second at the prison in three years. Yesterday, the Home Office denied claims by the Prison Officers' Association that key recommendations in its 1988 report had not been implemented.

Warders lost control of the prison for more than two hours on Tuesday as prisoners started fires, built barricades, smashed windows, destroyed televisions, damaged computers and gained access to confidential files. The trouble

began shortly after 6.30pm when a prisoner in F Wing barricaded himself into a dormitory and set fire to another room. As firecrews arrived, they were pelted with stones and other missiles. The firemen and prison officers retreated and trouble rapidly spread to involve hundreds of inmates.

One warder, Philip Marshall, was saved from serious injury only because he was rescued by a group of other inmates, the Prison Officers' Association said yesterday. Four prison officers and two inmates suffering from smoke inhalation were treated in hospital. The disturbance was quelled by prison officers in full riot gear almost four hours after the initial fire began.

The latest jail disturbance has left warders at odds with their governor as to the cause. Peter Davenport and Stuart Tendler report

Peter Leonard, the jail's governor, and prison officers disagreed yesterday about the reasons for the riot as Peter Kitteridge, the area prisons manager for the South Coast region, began his enquiry.

Peter Compton, chairman of the Lindholme branch of the Prison Officers' Association, said: "The prison is underfunded, understaffed and is asked to take prisoners who are unsuitable for a low security establishment such as this. The way the prison is being

managed is seriously affecting the morale of the staff. Since I arrived at Lindholme in 1985, I have never known morale as low."

Warders felt that prisoners were virtually running the jail. "This is the third serious incident at Lindholme and we are going to have major problems unless something is done," Mr Compton said.

Tension among prisoners had been rising before the riot, Mr Compton said. "At lunchtime on the day the riots broke out, I said to a governor that we were going to

lose the prison within a month." One cause of the disturbance might have been Mr Leonard's decision to ban smoking during visiting hours from September 1. Many prisoners had signed a petition against the measure.

Mr Leonard yesterday denied that morale among prison officers was low. He said: "The way in which the staff dealt with what was potentially a serious incident, indicates that morale is anything but low or rock bottom."

He did not believe the riot had been pre-planned and added that apart from 11 inmates moved out of the prison for security reasons, the others were being returned to their normal locations. Many had surrendered quickly once prison

staff entered to retake the prison. They said they had not wanted to become involved in the trouble. Mr Leonard said.

Lindholme Prison, built on the site of a former RAF camp near Doncaster, was opened in 1985 as a Category C jail, the second lowest security classification. When the riots began, it held 769 men serving sentences from six months to life for crimes ranging from motoring offences to murder. The prison can hold 800 prisoners.

After trouble in 1988, Gordon Lakes, the deputy director of prison service, called for a review of dormitories, security zoning to stop prisoners roaming through much of the prison and a study of the classification of prisoners.

## Pilots may face drink laws after death crash

By HARVEY ELLIOTT, AIR CORRESPONDENT

PLANS to give the police powers to breath test pilots and to apply drink laws tighter than those covering motorists are being drawn up by the government.

The study has been prompted by the death of Jeffrey Fletcher, aged 46, a pilot, who was found to be four times over the legal limit for car drivers after his light aircraft crashed into woods in Stanmore, northwest London. Even if Mr Fletcher, of Welwyn Garden City, Hertfordshire, had landed safely, police would have been powerless to breath test him regardless of the fact that he had flown for an hour through controlled air space near Stansted airport, Essex, disrupting civilian traffic.

Douglas Chambers, the

coroner of Poplar, east London, who recorded a verdict of misadventure on Mr Fletcher, said that he would be writing to Malcolm Rifkind, the transport secretary, calling for ways to be found of enforcing drink regulations on private pilots.

The dead pilot, the coroner was told, had a history of alcohol problems from which he appeared to have recovered. He had flown normally from Panshanger aerodrome, Hertfordshire, to Cambridge for a business meeting.

As he was taking off again, however, he behaved erratically. He taxied close behind a Hercules undergoing engine tests, ignored instructions from air traffic controllers, took off without permission, flew in the wrong direction, forced a civilian airliner leaving Stansted to delay its take-off, narrowly missed a block of high-rise offices and finally crashed at Stanmore when his aircraft ran out of fuel. A half bottle of vodka was found in his jacket pocket.

Emergency teams took a sample of his blood which showed that he had 325 milligrammes of alcohol per 100 millilitres of blood.

The inquest was told that Mr Fletcher, who crashed on April 18, died ten days later of multiple injuries in the intensive care unit at the Royal London hospital.

Robert Lindesay, a Cambridge air traffic controller, said that Mr Fletcher's speech was slurred and he ignored instructions and made an "erratic climb out with wings wobbling". He assumed that he was a student pilot "or had had a heavy lunch".

Had Mr Fletcher survived, he could have been prosecuted under the Air Navigation Order which says that pilots "shall not enter any aircraft when drunk" or "under the influence of drink or a drug to such an extent as to impair his capacity so to act". There are no restrictions on a pilot's drink intake and he can refuse a request to take a breath test on landing. Pilots who are banned from driving a car, as Mr Fletcher had been, can continue to fly an aircraft.

Accident investigators now want the government to bring pilots under controls at least as tough as those for private motorists.

One of the proposals being studied by the transport department is for train drivers, ships' captains and pilots - all of whom can now refuse to take a breath test and are not subjected to any specific alcohol limit - to be compelled to undergo breath tests if anyone suspects they may have been drinking.

A limit of 20 milligrammes of alcohol per 100 millilitres of blood, rather than the motorists' maximum of 80, is also being considered.

## Managers in NHS 'working blind'

By DOUGLAS BROOM, LOCAL GOVERNMENT CORRESPONDENT

THE closure of hospital wards to save money could be topped if health service managers had accurate information about the cost of running the NHS, it was claimed yesterday.

David Cooksey, chairman of the Audit Commission, speaking at the launch of its annual report, said that health service managers lacked even the most basic information about the way hospitals were run. "Most hospitals do not know, for example, how much of their surgery is undertaken on a day-care basis. They do not know the source of demand for their pathology laboratories," he said.

As a result, managers had to make decisions on which to take decisions and the commission had advised ministers that plans for a full-scale internal market in the health service should be delayed. "The system is so unfocused that people come up against their cash limits at the end of the year and the only way they can balance their books is by losing wards," Mr Cooksey said. "How can you have an internal market when you do not know what things cost?"

Mr Cooksey added: "Within the health service practically everybody you speak to recognises the need for change. The problem is that up to now the person responsible for providing the service has not been the person responsible for paying for it."

Pamela Charlwood, director of the Institute of Health Services Management, said: "For the first time in 40 years we are trying to define the workload and the cost of that work."

Stephen Dorrell, the junior health minister, said the government accepted that the lack of management information meant that contracts between hospitals and health authorities and GPs would remain "relatively general". He added, however: "This does not diminish the opportunity to use contracts as a mechanism for defining quality standards within the service."

Total frauds reported by auditors last year were 20 per cent lower than in each of the last three years, at £903,174. Of 83 frauds involving more than £500 the biggest involved £200,000 worth of improvement grants on 30 homes.



Best foot forward: Stephen Hall, aged nine, being put through his paces by Jill Henderson at Birmingham Royal Ballet's first summer school.

## BBC2 promises a heady Saturday

By MELINDA WITTSTOCK, MEDIA CORRESPONDENT

A DRAMATISATION of one of the liveliest and most absurd events in British legal history, the 1971 *Oz* magazine obscenity trial which put the Sixties counter-culture in the dock, is part of what BBC2 calls its "heady brew of sex and politics" this autumn.

The *Trials of Oz* has been distilled from transcripts of the six-week Old Bailey case into a 75-minute drama by Geoffrey Robertson, QC, the solicitor of three *Oz* editors. It joins a Saturday night line-up of new drama, live music and culture.

The £32 million schedule introduces themed Saturday evenings to attract viewers back to weekend television. "I'm fed up with hearing complaints about Saturday

nights and I've decided to colonise it," Alan Yentob, the BBC2 controller, said yesterday.

*Performance*, a Saturday night drama season, features Les Dawson in *None*, a black farce from Argentina, and Dame Judi Dench and Francesca Annis in *Absolute Hell*, set in London's Soho on the eve of the 1945 election. There will be new adaptations of *Uncle Vanya* and Harold Pinter's *Old Times*.

A Saturday night performance of Mahler's *The Symphony of a Thousand* will be broadcast on BBC television. The pianist Murray Perahia will feature in two concertos as part of the channel's Mozart bicentennial celebrations.



Dame Judi features in a new season of drama



Annis: a story of post-war hell in London's Soho

## Mercury cuts its charges

By A STAFF REPORTER

MERCURY Communications yesterday announced cuts in telephone call charges for all its customers but denied that it was the start of a price war with BT as it seeks a bigger share of the market.

The reductions, which take effect on September 2, represent an average 8 per cent cut in the price of international calls and 1 per cent for residential and small business local calls. Larger businesses directly connected to the Mercury network will save 5.5 per cent on local calls, 10 per cent on long distance calls and up to 15 per cent on international calls.

Mercury said that it was introducing a frequent-caller programme under which business and residential customers could gain extra savings by paying a quarterly charge.

To introduce the programme, all customers would automatically receive the extra savings for a trial three months from September 2 and the quarterly charge would be free.

Mercury has doubled its residential customers to 125,000 in the past six months. Becoming one of its subscribers involves buying a Mercury compatible telephone, from £22 upwards, from an electrical retailer and sending the application form provided with it to the company, providing the STD code is in a Mercury access area.

## Ransom demand gives murder clue

By PETER DAVENPORT

A LETTER demanding a £140,000 ransom has revealed a vital clue in the search for the murderer of an 18-year-old girl, detectives said yesterday.

Forensic examination of a letter sent by the man thought to have killed Julie Dart contained the indentation of a previous message that he wrote. It read: "Mavis will not be in Tuesday - Phil."

Detectives appealed to anyone who may know of a couple with those names, possibly working together, to contact the police.

Julie was last seen alive at 7.45pm on July 9 when she left her boyfriend's house in Gipton, Leeds. Her body was found 10 days later in a field at Easton, near Grantham in Lincolnshire, 80 miles from her home.

She had suffered severe head injuries and her body was wrapped in a sheet. Police believe her body had been in the field for less than 24 hours but she had been killed 10 days earlier.

Julie was not reported missing until three days after her abduction when she wrote to her family at Oakwood, Leeds, saying she had been kidnapped. The letter was postmarked Huntingdon, Cambridgeshire. Later that day, police received a letter with the same postmark that demanded £140,000.

Since then, police have received a series of letters, postmarked Leeds, York, Coventry, Nottingham and Grantham. Detective

Superintendent Robert Taylor, of West Yorkshire police, who is heading the murder enquiry, said yesterday: "I cannot exclude the possibility that this man may strike again. Women should avoid being out alone at night until this man is caught."

Julie's conduct before her abduction confuses the case. She told her boyfriend she was going to work at Leeds General Infirmary, but the job did not exist. She also lied to her mother, saying she was going to work at a laboratory in Leeds.

Mr Taylor said: "I don't know whether Julie went missing after a pre-arranged meeting, or whether she was plucked off the street." Police also want to trace the driver of a red car seen at 5.45am on July 19 close to the field where Julie's body was found two hours later.



Dart: police are puzzled by job descriptions

## Remand on rape charge

A man appeared before magistrates at Worksop, Nottinghamshire, yesterday accused of raping a girl aged 11.

Neville Lee, aged 38, a bachelor and a former miner, of Manvers Street, Mansfield Woodhouse, Nottinghamshire, was remanded in custody until September 16.

There was no application for bail and reporting restrictions were not lifted. He was charged with raping the girl in lavatories near the town on August 4.

## Man accused of murder

Dean Turner, aged 28, appeared before Southampton magistrates accused of murdering Stephen Parker, aged 18, of Northam, Southampton. Mr Turner, of no fixed address, was also accused of conspiracy to cause grievous bodily harm and possessing drugs.

He was remanded in custody for a week, as was Lee Conway, aged 29, of Weston, Southampton, who was also accused of conspiracy to cause grievous bodily harm.

## Safety order

The Health and Safety Executive has ordered staff on the Duke of Malborough's Blenheim Palace estate near Woodstock, Oxford, to improve safety measures after a girl aged two fell in a 4ft deep ornamental pond there and nearly drowned.

## Help for geese

Wildfowl associations and the Royal Society for the Protection of Birds are launching a campaign to halt the shooting of protected barnacle geese on the Solway coast of south-west Scotland. Foreign visitors are being blamed for the deaths of some of the 600 geese killed each year.

## Wind farm

South Western Electricity has signed an agreement to take a stake in Britain's first commercial wind farm at Delabole, north Cornwall. Wind Electric is due to come onstream in early 1992. It will produce enough electricity each year to supply 3,000 homes.

## On the house

Albert Barker, who paid three old pence for his first pint of beer at the King William IV pub near his home in Cottenham, Hull, 80 years ago, went for his usual lunchtime daily pint on his 99th birthday and was told that the pints would be free for the rest of his life.

## Locked out

A thief stole the brass door handles and security chains from a police station at Cromer, Norfolk, while police were inside. Officers were forced to call out a locksmith to let them in the next morning because the thief had jammed the locks.

## Fossil find

Alex Billingham, aged seven, from Yate, near Bristol, uncovered a 100 million year old rock lobster on his first ever fossil hunt. He made his find on the beach at Whale Chine, Isle of Wight.

## Witch power

Carnival organisers have called off a mock witch burning at Ledbury, Hereford and Worcester, after white witches said it could make them a source of ridicule.

## Light's out

A telephone hotline number is to be posted on all traffic lights in Hertfordshire so drivers may report faults as soon as they happen.

## False alarm

Magistrates' courts at Harwich, Essex, were evacuated yesterday when a witness leaned against a wall panel and accidentally triggered a secret alarm system.

مركز الاموال



**The last "legging" canal tunnel, a relic of the industrial revolution, is to reopen. Craig Seton reports**

**THE housing market slump** has had a savage effect in the south of the country while leaving the north relatively unscathed, narrowing the gap in prices between the two, the Council of Mortgage Lenders reports today.

Its study of the market shows that in 1990, house

prices increased in most northern regions by more than 10 per cent (more than 15 per cent in the North-West). That compares with a fall of 11 per cent in East Anglia, nearly 10 per cent in the South-West and more than 8 per cent in the South-East. Overall prices fell by 1.5 per cent between 1989 and 1990, a sharp reversal after increases of 26 per cent in 1988 and 21 per cent in 1989.

The council says that in the southern regions prices tend to rise more rapidly than the national average when they are going up, as in 1972, 1979 and 1988. Prices in other parts catch up when the average price rises more slowly. Just as the recovery in house prices after a fall is normally led by London and the South-East, the same area led the fall in prices in 1990.

Between 1988 and 1990 the number of housing market transactions fell from 1,990,000 to 1,283,000. Again there was a wide regional difference, with transactions in London and the South-East falling by 42 per cent against 11 per cent in the North.

Court possession orders more than doubled between 1987 and 1990 in the South but increased in the North by only 8 per cent. Underlying the increasingly difficult situation for homeowners in the South is the level of unemployment. Between March 1990 and February 1991 unemployment rose by more than 45 per cent in East Anglia, the South-West and the South-East, while the increase in the North, North-West and in Yorkshire and Humber was less than 17 per cent.

Looking for signs of optimism, the report says that static house prices, combined with rapidly falling mortgage rates, mean that mortgage costs are at their lowest relative to earnings since August 1988. "Affordability" has improved by more than 20 per cent since February 1990, when the mortgage rate rose to 15.4 per cent.

Mark Boleat, the council's director-general, said: "With earnings continuing to rise, house prices remaining more or less stable and the possibility of further mortgage rate cuts later in the year, affordability will continue to

improve." The report says that the decline in housing market activity in 1990 was much slower than in the previous year, and that prices appeared to have stopped falling by early 1991.

The report concludes that there may be little improvement in the market until well into 1992, because of uncertainty about a general elec-

**Housing Finance Fact Book**  
(BSA/CML Bookshop, 3 Savile  
Row, London W1X 1AF; £20)

**By EDWARD GORMAN**  
IRISH AFFAIRS  
CORRESPONDENT

**AN INVITATION** by Gerry Adams, president of Sinn Féin, to the government to open negotiations on Northern Ireland was rejected yesterday.

Mr Adams, in a statement released by his office, said that Sinn Fein was willing to take political risks in the search for peace in Ireland. "We are prepared to give and take. We are committed to establishing a peace process," Mr Adams said, adding that he believed a real opportunity existed to build a new future.

"My invitation is made in the spirit of openness and a desire to see this tragedy brought to an end. Dialogue and a frank and full exchange of views is essential if there is to be any hope of constructive progress," he said.

The Northern Ireland Office restated that there could be no question of negotiations with Sinn Féin as long as the party supported IRA violence. The statement implied that it was unrealistic of Mr Adams to imagine that Sinn Féin could be regarded as a normal political party while it continued its association with the IRA.

Mr Adams's invitation was also sent to the Irish government, political leaders in Ireland and Britain and church and trade union figures.

By **RAYMOND KEENE**, CHESS CORRESPONDENT

**NIGEL** Short, the British grandmaster, today meets Boris Gelfand, his Soviet opponent, in a match that could earn him a place in the semi-finals of the world chess championships.

Short leads by four points to three after he and Gelfand drew the seventh game of their quarter-final in Brussels. Short needs just half a point to become only the second Englishman to qualify for the semi-finals. It will be fascinating to see, in today's game, whether Short, who will be playing with the black pieces, will come out fighting or will play safe and head directly for the half point he requires.

The seventh game between the two players was the most exciting so far in this quarter-final. Short, playing with the white pieces, went all out for the win, even though his opponent had chosen the super solid Petroff defence. A win would have given Short semi-final qualification at a stroke.

The seventh game between Viswanathan Anand (India) and Anatoly Karpov (USSR) was also drawn leaving both players on 3½ points. Anand has been the revelation of the quarter-finals. Vasily outtraded by Karpov, a former world champion, and lacking the Russian's great experience, Anand has fought every inch of the way and if anything has had the better of the struggle.

The adjourned seventh

game between Vassily Ivanchuk and Artur Yusupov (both USSR) was agreed drawn overnight, giving Ivanchuk a 4-3 advantage.

resolved with today's eighth and final game to be played. In the remaining quarter-final, the Dutch grandmaster Jan Timman has disposed of his Swiss rival Victor Korchnoi by 4½ points to 2½.

Short white		Gelfand black	
White	Black	White	Black
1 E4	E5	18 Bxb5	Rc4
2 Nc3	Nf6	19 g5	O-O
3 Nxd5	O-O	20 Ne5	Qd4

4 Nf3	Nf6	21 Q4	Ne5
5 d4	d5	22 Ne5	Rd4
6 Bc2	Bd6	23 Rd4	Bd4
7 O-O	O-O	24 Bc5	Bxc5
8 c4	c5	25 dxc5	Qxc5
9 cxd5	cxd5	26 a4	Qc1-
10 Ne2	Nc3	27 Kf2	Rc2
11 h3	Bg4	28 Qc3	Qe5-
12 Rd1	b5	29 Qg3	Qc2
13 Rb5	Bc7	30 Qd4	Qc7
14 b3	a6	31 Kg3	Qc3-
15 h4	axb5	32 Kf2	Qc7
16 Qc2	g6	33 Kg3	Qc3+
17 Bb5	Rc8	34 Draw	

Final position

**THE 200-year-old Dudley canal tunnel, one of the longest and best known in Britain, is to reopen to boats for the first time in ten years after a £1 million restoration.**

The Black Country tunnel, built for commercial barges during the industrial revolution, is the last "legging" tunnel in the country. Crews propelled craft along its 3,172 yards by lying on their backs and "walking" against the inner walls. Poor ventilation prevented the use of engines.

The tunnel has been closed to traffic since 1981. When it reopens next Easter in the year of its bi-centenary, it will be Britain's longest canal tunnel in use. Parts are hewn through solid rock and other sections pass through caverns left by quarry and mine workings.

Boaters will again be able to leg their craft, although British Waterways will provide a former canal tug boat,

the Bittel, restored and converted to electric propulsion, to tow "trains" of boats through.

John Brown, British Waterways' Midland region project manager, described the tunnel as a "unique and priceless piece of industrial and engineering history."

It was almost closed in the early Sixties after local commercial traffic ended, but was saved by canal enthusiasts who formed the Dudley Tunnel Trust. Its potential for tourist traffic was recognised by the Brit-

The tunnel finally closed ten years ago when part of the structure began to fail. Steel rings and concrete are being used to support 150 yards of the tunnel where it was badly aligned and where boats regularly got stuck.

Dudley council and the tunnel trust have contributed £250,000 and pledged more for maintenance costs.



A black and white photograph showing four Lancia cars parked in a row. From left to right, they are the Lancia Tempira, Lancia Panda, Lancia Uno, and Lancia Tipo. Each car has its name on the front license plate area. The cars are shown from a front-three-quarter perspective.

- 3. On top of this, Fiat dealers will deal, deal and deal again to get your business. Call in, or ring 0800 717000.**

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# Army jets raid Croat village as search for peace drags on

From TIM JUDAH AND DESSA TREVISAN IN BELGRADE

THE Croatian village of Sarvas was attacked by Yugoslav army planes yesterday as the country's eight-man collective leadership met for a second day in a desperate attempt to keep talks going between the country's various republics.

Yugoslav leaders issued a statement on Tuesday night calling for the resolution of the country's conflict on the basis of "the right of nations to self-determination". Since the Croats have always refused to contemplate the idea of Serbian enclaves in Croatia seceding, the meaning of the statement was unclear.

In Belgrade, General Marko Negovanovic, the deputy minister of defence, reiterated the

daily army summary at a press conference. He said that Sarvas, like everywhere else, would have been in action. The military had not opened fire first, and its only role was "to separate the parties in conflict and provide a buffer zone". The Croatian authorities responded by accusing parts of the Yugoslav army of openly siding with rebel Serb militia.

There were no reports of casualties from Sarvas, but one policeman was killed overnight and six people were wounded in other clashes in Croatia. General Negovanovic, reputed to be the head of military intelligence, attacked the leaders of the republics of Bosnia-Herzegovina and Macedonia, which have decided to join Slovenia and Croatia in no longer providing conscripts for the army in the traditional way. "The target is more than evident," the hardline general said. "It is the breaking up of Yugoslavia through civil war, bloodshed and foreign military intervention."

Slovenia no longer provides any recruits for the army, and Bosnia-Herzegovina and Macedonia have now said that they only want their recruits to serve in their own republics. The Croatian government had originally encouraged its soldiers to desert, but it stopped doing so once it realised that the move was contributing to what it most fears — the creation of a Serbian army.

Recent figures show that only 51 per cent of those who are supposed to be called up this autumn have registered. As a result, General Negovanovic announced that the military would now take over control of conscription from

republic bodies and prosecute those who failed to turn up for military service and those who instigated such an action.

Asked whether this meant that the army would try to prosecute the leaders of the republics who had issued statements of which it did not approve, the general said: "That depends on what the law provides in each particular case." When he was asked how this left Franjo Tudjman, the Croatian president, General Negovanovic said: "You can't prosecute on the basis of a statement." Since the army is withdrawing from Slovenia, the decision to prosecute those who fail to sign up will not apply.

General Negovanovic's pronouncement came the day after General Stjepan Mirkovic, the influential former chief of general staff, declared that he had been heartened by the Moscow coup and said that if the military in Yugoslavia were not granted more power then they should "take it". The hardline Serbian communist leadership was particularly cheered when it believed that President Gorbatchev's new Union Treaty, intended to set the country on the path of confederation, would not be implemented. They believed that if the treaty came into effect, there would be even more pressure for Yugoslavia to follow the same course.

Several hundred people gathered in front of the Soviet embassy in Belgrade under the banners of Serbian opposition parties yesterday to denounce the "stalinist junta" that had seized control in Moscow. They warned the Yugoslav military not to be encouraged if the Soviet coup attempt was successful. General Negovanovic said the Yugoslav army had no intention of trying to mount its own coup and such stories were "old and shabby". However, a commentator writing for *Borba*, a newspaper which supports the idea of a federal Yugoslavia, said: "The army is already so involved that there is no need for a putsch."



## Blacks win fight to use white schools

Johannesburg — Whites-only schools closed for lack of pupils would be reopened for black education as a matter of urgency, the government said yesterday (Ray Kennedy writes).

Sam de Beer, the minister of housing and works, who takes over the black education portfolio at the beginning of next month, said he had given orders to officials of his new department to streamline immediately the procedure by which empty schools came under its authority.

About 70 white schools were being closed, and the government's policy was that they should remain in service for education.

Earlier, armed riot police thwarted the symbolic occupation of two formerly white primary schools and a white high school by black pupils under the sponsorship of the National Education Co-ordinating Committee, an affiliate of the African National Congress.

## Early winner

Singapore — The ruling People's Action party was returned to power in Singapore — ten days before the snap general election that has been called by Goh Chok Tong, the prime minister. At the close of nominations for the poll, 41 out of 81 seats in parliament had no opposition candidate.

## Withdrawal plea

Baghdad — Iraq is asking the Arab League to persuade Turkey to withdraw its troops from the north of the country where they have been hunting Kurdish guerrillas. Ahmad Hussein al-Khodair, the foreign minister, said in a letter to the league that Ankara was in breach of the 1926 Turkey-Iraq border accord. (Reuters)

## Rescue mission

Molodetshynsk base — A Soviet transport jet landed safely on a packed-ice Antarctic runway to rescue more than 170 Soviet scientists and technicians stranded on a research ship stuck in an ice pack. The aircraft was expected back in Cape Town early today. (AP)

## Woomera revival

Sydney — British Aerospace, Hawker Siddeley and France's Matra Group have formed a joint venture with the intention of turning Australia's Woomera rocket base, disused since 1972, into a launch site to place commercial satellites weighing up to 2,200lb into low earth orbit. (Reuters)

# Murder of Harijans torments India

Christopher Thomas writes from Delhi of the latest caste outrage, in which victims were tortured to death and cut into pieces

INDIA'S constant searching of its soul over the plight of its 200 million Harijans (Untouchables) has reached a rare intensity in the wake of the torture and murder by dismemberment of scores of men because one of them let his foot touch a Brahmin.

The cruelty suffered by Harijans is ritually condemned every time there is an atrocity. An official enquiry has been ordered into the latest incident, but nobody seriously expects any result. Nobody has been arrested for murder, nor is anybody likely to be, because the killers were high caste. Senior policemen, most of them upper caste, are reluctant to prosecute their own and are under no political pressure to do so because politicians are also predominantly high caste.

The latest crop of anti-Harijan horror stories began in April, when rough justice was meted out to a man called Brijendra, aged 20, for eloping with Roshni, aged 15, an upper-caste Jat. Brijendra was caught, hung upside down along with his brothers and father, and beaten with sticks. The lips and genitals of all of them were burnt off.

Next morning the girl was dragged to the scene. Ropes were placed round the young couple's necks and their

fathers were ordered to kill them. When they were unable to summon the strength, others stepped forward and hauled on the ropes. The young couple, unconscious but perhaps not dead, were taken down and placed on a pyre and

burnt. When police arrived at the village of Mehra, in the Hindi-speaking heartland, the Jats boasted of their deed. Honour had been satisfied, they said.

Harijan girls are raped with a frequency that nobody has managed to cal-

culate. Once in a while a headline scratches the surface. A week ago Rajbela, aged 16, committed suicide by jumping into the village well in Haryana after being gang-raped. One common practice in village India is for Harijan women to have to dance naked in front of high-caste men, often while husbands look on.

But for the past week India has been consumed and revolted by the story of events in Chundur village, which has a population of

6,000, in the southern state of Andhra Pradesh. The victims were tortured to death, then cut in pieces. The Harijan doctor who carried out the post-mortem examinations was so distressed he went home and hanged himself. The brother of a victim died of a heart attack when he saw what had happened. An enquiry has been set up which, if events proceed as usual, will never be heard of again.

Harijans went on the rampage in revenge, ransacking dozens of high-caste houses. It was one of the first known acts of reprisal by Harijans against their persecutors in Andhra Pradesh. Local tradition demands that, upon encountering a high-caste man, they should remove their sandals and walk hunchedback. Police were called out in large numbers to bring order to Chundur village, a third of whose population is Harijan. Like village Harijans everywhere, they live in their own section and are banned from using the same well as caste Hindus.

Nationally, Harijans are becoming steadily more assertive as they recognise their potential political influence, which in turn is prompting high-caste Hindus to treat them even more harshly.



Life of misery: Harijans' plight is ritually criticised but no action is ever taken

# Israel believes hostages deal still on course

From RICHARD BEESON IN TEL AVIV

URI Lubrani, Israel's chief negotiator, yesterday predicted that it was only a matter of time before a Middle East hostage exchange was agreed. Iran still had the same reasons to want to solve the hostage issue as it did 11 days ago when the last Western hostage was freed in Beirut.

"We have been looking for signs that the process is slowing down," he told *The Times* in his office at the Israeli defence ministry in Tel Aviv. "We are not exactly moving at a hair-raising speed, but we have not detected anything to suggest the basic components of the problem have changed. I think for the moment there is no delay. They realise that this hostage business is counterproductive. The question is no longer if, but how, (the problem will be solved)."

He added that the fundamentalist Hezbollah (Party of God) movement had different but no less compelling reasons to put an end to the hostage business. In particular, Hezbollah's followers are concerned that, as the Syrians and Lebanese are imposing their authority on Lebanon, the hostages will become harder to keep and could one day be freed without the captors receiving anything in return.

Mr Lubrani headed a high-ranking Israeli delegation to Geneva last week to discuss with Javier Pérez de Cuellar, the United Nations secretary-general, the possibility of a "package deal" exchange of hostages in the Middle East. The swap would involve the release of Western hostages in Beirut, including two Britons, seven Israeli servicemen missing in action, and about 400 Shia Muslim Lebanese prisoners held by Israel and its proxy forces, the South Lebanon Army.

Over the weekend Klaus Jacob, Switzerland's deputy foreign minister, travelled to Tehran as a special envoy of Señor Pérez de Cuellar to try to complete details of the hostage exchange. His visit coincided with the arrival in Iraq of Sayyed Abbas Mousavi, the leader of the Hezbollah militia in Lebanon, the group believed to have abducted the Westerners and to have captured some of the Israeli soldiers.

There were fears that the coup in the Soviet Union might have derailed the sensitive negotiations, but Mr Lubrani said yesterday that the motives of the Iranian leadership and its supporters in Lebanon had not changed. "Iran, I think, has reached the conclusion that they have a hump that they ought to get rid of if they want to open the way to the good graces of the West and particularly the US," he said. "They realise that this hostage business is counter-productive."

Mr Lubrani reiterated Is-

rael's demand for hard evidence about the fate of its missing servicemen before it is prepared to free any of its Lebanese prisoners. Israel's most important captive, Sheikh Abdel Karim Obeid, the Shia cleric, would only be freed, he insisted, when the missing Israeli soldiers were returned, dead or alive.

But he served warning that the process could still take time and described the current behind-the-scenes talks as "a battle of minds, wit and stamina". He dismissed recent reports quoting Iranian officials as saying they had no information about the fate of the captured Israeli airman, Captain Ron Arad, as an example of the "tactics and hand-twisting" going on behind the scenes. "We believe Iran knows where the navigator is. They know his condition and state of health. If they say they do not know, that is incorrect. To the best of our knowledge, he has been held by the (Iranian) Revolutionary Guards in Lebanon," Mr Lubrani said.

## Weapons inspectors leave Iraq

From REUTER IN BAGHDAD

UNITED Nations experts ended an inspection tour of Iraqi chemical weapons sites yesterday saying that Baghdad had co-operated fully and was working out ways of destroying its bombs and warheads.

Jean Paul Péroz, the French leader of the UN team, attributed Iraq's helpfulness to its urgent need for permission to resume production of such chemicals as chlorine, which is used for water purification as well as weapon manufacture. "They gave us many plans, much information and they have very good co-operation with the inspection team," he told reporters.

The UN security council has linked full lifting of the year-long trade blockade of Iraq to compliance with the Gulf war ceasefire terms, which include the declaring and scrapping of all weapons of mass destruction.

M Péroz and his 21-member team, which leaves today, saw 6,420 small rockets with chemical warheads and 200 mustard-gas bombs during its six-day visit. He said the team had found no inconsistencies between Iraq's declarations and what they had seen.

He said that Baghdad had asked for permission to turn chemical-weapons production plants into arms destruction plants. "They are working out ways of destroying the ammunition," he added.

## Swiss police arrest Bakhtiar suspect

From REUTER IN PARIS

A MAN believed to be one of the three Iranians suspected of murdering Shapur Bakhtiar, the former prime minister under the shah, was arrested in Geneva yesterday, Swiss police said. Bakhtiar's secretary also died in the attack.

The police said they believed the arrested man to be Ali Vakili Rad, one of the last three men known to have visited Bakhtiar at his Paris home on August 6, the day he died. The detained man was carrying no papers, and additional checks were being made.

Shortly before news of the arrest was made public, Thierry Magnin, the police spokesman, said Mr Vakili Rad and Muhammad Azadi, another suspect, were believed to be still in Switzerland. Hotels and border posts were under surveillance. The two Iranians, who flew to Paris from Tehran last month, are believed to have been introduced to their victim by Sarqudom Boyer Amadi, the third Iranian, who knew Bakhtiar and had his trust.

A 36-hour delay in discovering the bodies of Bakhtiar and his secretary, who were stabbed to death despite round-the-clock police protection, allowed Mr Azadi and Mr Vakili Rad to flee to the Franco-Swiss border. There they were briefly held by French police after trying unsuccessfully to cross the border with forged Swiss visas. They were freed as the murders had not been discovered.

One suspect was later traced to a Geneva hotel, but a temporary breakdown involving the computer used to check hotel registers against the list of wanted men allowed him to get away. The delay in noticing the murders and several near-misses in the police hunt for the suspected killers have prompted a public outcry in France. Iranian exiles and the French media are concerned the government might have let the murderers escape so as not to jeopardise negotiations to free Western hostages held by pro-Iranian groups in Lebanon.

# Breakdowns and protests put the brakes on high-speed train

As the French delight in informing the rest of the world, their *Train à Grande Vitesse* network is the jewel in their hi-tech crown, pride of the nation and the envy of lesser breeds. Scarcely a month passes without another press release hailing the TGV's capture of some new speed record, slashing the travel time between principal cities again.

Alas, this has not been the kindest of summers for the TGV, especially the Atlantique service inaugurated last September with talk of 300kph (187mph) journeys that would hurtle passengers from Paris to Le Mans in about the time that commuters could be stuck in traffic on the capital's orbital motorway in a bad rush hour.

A few days ago, with less of a fanfare, the French rail board, SNCF, let it be known that trains on the Atlantique run would have to be limited to 180kph until certain

Philip Jacobson reports from Paris on the *tristesse* of a train with less *vitesse*

"technical problems" have been identified and ironed out. This would only add some 15 minutes to the Paris-Bordeaux trip and even less to the Poitiers-Paris run, a defensive SNCF announcement pointed out: still, not the best way to celebrate the latest sale of TGV technology to the state of Texas.

Twice this month, trains on the Atlantique line have broken down, stranding hundreds of passengers for several hours, as well as disrupting less celebrated services (including a pilgrim special bound for Lourdes). Photographs of exasperated passengers added to the embarrassment.

It seems clear that the vaunted TGV technology is at fault: not least

because it appears to have been superimposed on an electrification system originally installed in 1938. "TGV Atlantique tangled up in its own cables", announced the satirical weekly, *Le Canard Enchaîné*, revealing that the minister of transport had demanded a full explanation for the incidents.

But while these irksome technical problems can be overcome, at a cost, there must be growing concern in high places about the activities of a broadly based protest movement dedicated to stopping the TGV's proposed service between Paris and Marseilles and the Côte d'Azur. Protests at the intended route, running through swathes of lovely Provençal countryside crowded with small farms and vineyards, were airtily dismissed by railway officials.

Polls were produced to demonstrate that a majority of people

affected by the proposed new line saw the Marseilles link as a potential godsend to a region with serious economic problems. The loose association of ecologists, wine growers and farmers was unimpressed, mounting a campaign aimed at ensuring that the new track ran alongside the exist-

ing line rather than "massacring" surrounding countryside that had so inspired the Impressionists. Earlier this month, the demonstrations and sit-ins culminated in the occupation of stations and tracks that severely affected some 40 trains and 20,000 passengers.

The anti-TGV lobby is also



Line of resistance: the TGV has stirred up widespread opposition







# Inside the mind of the silent majority

Orlando Figes on two moving Soviet novels which explore the individual's complicity in Stalin's crimes and the aftermath of war

The best-known literary fruits of glasnost have been weighty things. Blockbusters like Grossman's *Life and Fate* and Rybakov's *Children of the Arbat* became overnight best-sellers in the Soviet Union by daring to expose the evils of the Stalin period. They were sold to the West as Russia's greatest epics since Tolstoy's *War and Peace*. Yet they turned out to be clumsy and artless creations, weighed down by long discussions of ideology, wooden dialogue, and characters that failed to come alive. Not so much the heirs of Tolstoy, then, as so many Soviet Solzhenitsyins.

But these were not the only novels to have been "kept in the drawer" during the Brezhnev era, and pulled out for publication after 1986. Slimmer, more literary, novels were also brought out of hiding, albeit with less razzmatazz. The two books reviewed here are fine examples. Like their big brothers, they both deal with the Stalin period. But they do so in miniature form, through the eyes of particular individuals, and not on some vast sociological canvas, like the novels of Grossman and Rybakov.

On one level, *The Fifth Corner of the Room* is a love story. This is how the manuscript was originally published in 1964 under the title of *Katya*, with all the political passages removed. *Nez*, the Leningrad literary journal, brought out the complete version in 1989, and awarded it a prize for the best novel of that year. And perhaps in view of this week's tumultuous events, it will not be one of the last publications of glasnost. It is certainly one of the most interesting Soviet works of fiction to appear in recent years.

**THE FIFTH CORNER OF THE ROOM**  
By Israel Metter  
Harvill, £12.99

**THE INSEPARABLE TWINS**  
By Anatoly Pristavkin  
Picador, £14.99

and much more than just a romance. An old man recalls his life-long affair with Katya, and comes to terms with his own past, prompted by letters from a woman he cannot remember, but who claims to have known him as a young man during the 1930s.

For that generation, memory can be a painful thing. It is not always easy to distinguish between the victims and the perpetrators of the Stalinist system. Millions of ordinary people believed the propaganda and applauded the crimes. Were they guilty? This is the question Boris constantly asks of himself. As a mathematics teacher, he had believed that his science, like everything else, was based on "class principles". "My students' eyes lit up with unbridled zeal when I told them how there

was a kulak brand of mathematics and another for the factory workers in alliance with the poorest peasants." He had demonstrated the guilt of Stalin's victims in equations. Now, as an old man, he is tormented by self-disgust. In a dialogue with his younger self, he confesses to complicity in the destruction of others because he failed to protest against it. Years after their separation, he even blames himself for Katya's death in prison: "What was I doing at that moment? How did I dare do anything at such a time?"

All this may seem a little self-indulgent, so much Russian soul-searching. After all, Boris was only a maths teacher, not some police official, like Katya's first husband. So why should he feel guilty for the crimes of the Stalinist system? The fact is that he does, as today do millions of Soviet people lucky enough to have survived those terrible years. Anyone interested in the mind of the silent majority during the Stalin era will find this



Israel Metter: his book was first published as a love story with the political parts cut

a deeply humane and rewarding novel, albeit inevitably rather depressing.

*The Inseparable Twins* is a very different story. In 1944, a train-load of orphans is evacuated from the Moscow region to the Caucasus. There they are settled with fatal consequences, on land forcibly seized from the Chechens, who turn to banditry in the face of genocide by the Soviet Army. It was no doubt largely this last aspect which made the book,

written in 1981, unpublishable until the new climate of glasnost. That and the terrible hunger, which Pristavkin, himself an orphan of the war, relates with considerable humour.

Sasha and Kolka, the lovable twins of the title, are obsessed with their empty stomachs. They dream up ingenious methods to dig their way into the orphanage food store, steal bread from the market and smuggle out jam from the factory, to which they are sent

as labourers. Perhaps there is just a touch of twopenny in the way the story is narrated through the naive perceptions of the orphan: they are not quite as worldly-wise as you would expect them to be. But this is ultimately a tragic tale, all the more affecting for having been told with such charm and sentiment.

It is translated by Michael Glenny, perhaps the finest translator of Russian literature into English this century.

## Adventures in the war zone

Hugo Hamilton's *The Last Shot* is a topsy-turvy war story. Its heroes are German military personnel; its villains are released Polish prisoners; its setting is the few days after the war has ended. It is a tale of ambiguity and contradiction.

With the hostilities formally over, it should be a time for celebration, but with Europe a map of bitter returning soldiers, each day is made to seem as potentially fraught with violence as the years that went before. The novel's odd angle is compounded by an adroit interweaving of two separate stories. At the heart is an adventure: how a young German escapes at the end of the war from the Czechoslovakian town of Laun before the arrival of the Russian Army. At points of tension this is interrupted by the first person narration of a contemporary German/Canadian who is searching for information about wartime activities in Laun (who, he asks, fired the last shot?). The characters are separated by 45 years, but their stories are linked by echoing images: a Down Syndrome child, romantic encounters in the rain, hidden bicycles. Gradually one realises the similarities between them are deeper than they seem.

Hamilton has a cool dispassionate tone, as adept with the cinematic sweep as the salient detail. There is a restraint to his treatment of trauma ("the only thing that kept her from crying was the sound of her own footsteps") that compounds rather than detracts from the heartache.

Women's adventures in the war zone of home are more often than not, the subjects of the short stories in the vigorously funny collection *The Wild Blue Yonder*. Andy Thomas's catalysts are the tensions shattered by the breaking of a teapot ("Roots"), the memories released by an announcement in the paper ("The Slow Descent"), the terrors admitted by the arrival of a new neighbour ("The Happy Farmer"). In all the stories Thomas ducks and dives into the language, surfacing with word games and literary allusion.

Many of these stories deal with conflicting impulses—juxtaposing the strains of domestic life with the draw and drawbacks of the world beyond the kitchen. At times the confrontation turns bitter. In "Trash", for example, the nearly comic encroachment of unsuitable lodgers becomes the focus of all a woman's personal pain.

Mary Hocking's *Letters from Constance* happens on an ingenious approach: an epistolary novel which, naturalistically, ignores one half of the correspondence altogether. The letters in this case span 47 years and the friendship of Constance—wife, mother, commentator on the

Sabine Durrant

**THE LAST SHOT**  
By Hugo Hamilton  
Faber, £11.99

**THE WILD BLUE YONDER**  
By Andy Thomas  
Fourth Estate, £13.99

**LETTERS FROM CONSTANCE**  
By Mary Hocking  
Chatto & Windus, £13.99

**SHUFFLE**  
By Leonard Michaels  
Jonathan Cape, £13.99

world—and her far more famous friend, Sheila Douglas—poetess and erstwhile *femme fatale*. It is a neat conceit, allowing for an interesting one-on-one distance and detective work. Sadly, Constance fails us, if only because she is such an incredibly nice person. You do not need to read much further than 1941 to realise how much more creative she is than her talented pal.

The novel is let down too by an archness in its construction. The letters are irregular: sparse in uneventful periods, such as early married life, more copious in time of high action—death, war, births. One would forgive the artificial nature of the communication if it were not explained in such stilted detail: "This gap in our letter writing puts me in mind of that last scene change in *The Duchess of Malfi* when a couple of lines suffice to tell the playgoer it is a few years and two children later..."

Leonard Michaels's *Shuffle* deserves a prize for genre-crunching. It is a piece of autobiographical fiction deploying the styles of journal, short story, essay and confession. Given that the book runs to a little over 160 pages you might think that was about two genres too many for the space, but Michaels's compact prose is capable of some light manoeuvres, whether turning an epigram ("What goes with bad news so well as a cigarette?") or swiftly setting down the narratives of love and sex (mostly sex) which flick in and out along the way.

The best section of *Shuffle*, though, is the most straightforward. "Sylvia" occupies the book's closing quarter and tells in a sequential narrative of the author's marriage and its destruction. The setting is for the most part a small New York apartment which serves to intensify the domestic grind, the impossibility of the relationship and yet the despairing loyalty to it.

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## Family death on the margin

Marcel Berlins

STRANGE LOYALTIES



By William McIlvanney  
Hodder & Stoughton, £13.99

diary circumstances; she has lost none of her frightening deftness.

*The Fifth Rapunzel*, by B.M. Gill (Hodder & Stoughton, £13.99). Car-crash death of forensic pathologist, Peter Bradshaw, and psychologically fragile wife, Lisa, unleashes hitherto lurking traumas among variety of intimates, not least their brooding 18-year-old son Simon, torn between romantic ideal and the sexually forward, predatory nurse from the hospital in which his mother used to recover. The dead doc's evidence had been crucial in sending religious-out to prison for disposing of five long-haired young women; a doubt stirs about the fifth Rapunzel. Friend of the family, Chief Inspector Maybridge, gradually draws into Freudian homicidal webs. Gill excels at portraying damaged psychics at work in superficially or-

*The Medium is Murder*, by Molly McKitterick (Scribners, £12.95). Brash St Louis TV journo strangled by her microphone cord after announcing a forthcoming exposé on mistresses and their men. Station anchorman William Hecklepeck digs into her research, assuming she has been despatched by one or other local bigwig to prevent disclosure of his illicit liaison, and finds deceased's trail leading to deeper secrets and motives. A lively, fast-paced, enjoyable first-timer, media-accurate and jolly. I wish Hecklepeck were not such a jerk.

*All the Lonely People*, by Martin Edwards (Picador, £12.95). Liverpool solicitor's debut crime novel features Liverpool solicitor in big trou-

ble. Its not autobiographical, we are told. Harry Devlin's runaway wife returns for a night, tells him she's scared, disappears again, and is found stabbed dead. Harry, suspected, distraught and obsessed, seeks truth of her past among Liverpool low-lifers, the kind he's been used to defending in the courts. Pungent Mersey whiff, strong feel for depressed people and places. A nice starter.

*Payback*, by Russell James (Gollancz, £13.99). Another fictional detective necessitating enquiry. Floyd Carter returns from abroad when small-time criminal brother Albie is bumped off; revenge is required. One Mr Quite Big expects Floyd to complete Albie's job; another demands repayment of an astray £10,000. Floyd wafts around SE London gangsterland with humour and mean fists, renewing old acquaintances—loving women, the Bill, junkies and thugs—and making new waves. An ambivalent underworld morality splendidly painted through raw dialogue and seedy-glam atmosphere. James has more than a hint of hard-boiled American about his writing; in this context, a compliment.

*A Suitable Vengeance*, by Elizabeth George (Bantam, £13.99). Aristocrat Tommy Lyuley, aka the Earl of Asherton, takes fiancée to Cornish ancestral home replete with estranged man, black sheep bro and rum collection of house guests and neighbours. Sex 'n' drugs much in evidence, followed by murder. This is a flashback Lyuley, set before the happenings in George's first three novels. Like the others, it's long, dense, immensely well-plotted, and with a depth of characterisation unusual in the genre. The tormented complexity of the people occasionally slows down the action, but not enough to spoil a first-class, page-turning read.

*100 Detectives*, edited by Maxim Jakubowski (Karnock, £12.99). A ton of top (and not so famous) crime writers and critics write short essays on their favourite fictional 'less instructive, entertaining browsing, with some surprising choices and the resurrection of a few forgotten heroes.

## Verse and much worse

Brian Alderson

THE PEDALLING MAN

By Russell Hoban  
Drawings by Lillian Hoban  
Heinemann, £7.95

appeared in England in 1969—in rather more generous format, but with 13 fewer poems

NOT so long ago writing poetry for children was regarded as too demanding, or perhaps demeaning, for words. After all, there were all those anthologies, and there was Mr Walter De La Mare. Who needed more? But then along came bunch patterns like Michael Rosen, and crack-a-jokers like Kit Wright, and the genre turned fashionable. Now hardly a week goes by without somebody slicing up profound observations into short lines and publishing them as poetry for children.

Much of this is painstaking, workmanlike and superfluous. Look for instance at Vernon Scannell's recent *Travelling Light* (Bodley Head, £7.99), a neatly-turned set of 38 poems about various modes of transport—which gives itself away simply by adopting such a theme: a kind of piano-practice, rather than committed writing. Or look at Barrie Wade's *Barley*, Barley (Oxford University Press, £5.95), 42 teacherly insights into the plight of today's truant-playing, single-parented, disenchanted young.

These verses are all-too-committed, and so lugubrious that one is surprised not to find a lament or two about the onset of the national curriculum or universal testing. Oh for the jolly ironies of verses like Roger McGough's "Streamline" or "Nooligan", which have just been reprinted in a retrospective selection of his poems *You At the Back* (Cape, £8.99).

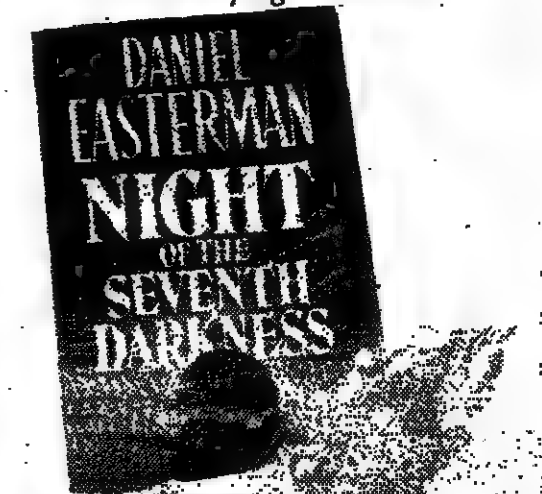
Amid so much effortful versifying, the unforced felicities of Russell Hoban's *Pedalling Man* are notably refreshing. The collection first

then here—and it can still stand as a model for the writing of children's poetry. Mr Hoban deals in a mixture of subjects: birds, seasons, quaint things like tin toys, and mysterious ballads about gain and loss. The weight varies from ephemeral pieces ("Esme on her brother's bicycle") to ambitious metaphors like "The Pedalling Man" himself. "I needed to tell these things," says Russell Hoban in his preface, and the compulsion has made poetry out of them.



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CINEMA: NEW RELEASES

# A rebel without conviction

Geoff Brown on *Young Soul Rebels*, already a prizewinner at the Cannes Festival, and the comedies *Soapdish* and *Nothing But Trouble*

**D**anger always threatens when an admired director of esoteric films goes out to bag a wider audience. Peter Greenaway faced the perils with *The Draughtsman's Contract*: instead of playing private avant-garde games, he tangled with plots and actors. He found fame in the process, but some still dream fondly of his obscure period, of *Vertical Feature Remake* and *The Falls*.

Now it seems Isaac Julien's turn. This ambitious black film-maker earned his spurs with the Sankofa collective. He co-directed *The Passion of Remembrance*, a poetic kaleidoscope of the British black experience, then three years ago he took sole charge of the 45-minute *Looking for Langston*, an ecstatic rhapsody spun round Langston Hughes and the Harlem Renaissance. With *Young Soul Rebels* (18, Metro, Screen on the Green), a British Film Institute production on a £1.2 million budget with assistance from France and Germany, Julien makes his play for the mainstream. The succulent visuals and ardent concern for black politics remain, but now ingredients join the mix — a feature-length murder mystery, naturalistic acting, soul music, songs and dances. For subject-matter Julien digs into his own teenage past, during the Queen's Jubilee year of 1977.

A young black is murdered cruising one night in a London park. His acquaintance Chris (Valentine Nonyela), co-owner of Soul Patrol, a pirate radio station, possesses a clue that could solve the crime, and comes under police scrutiny.

Fractured relationships heighten the crisis: Chris forms a new bond with Tracy, production assistant at a commercial radio station, while his old partner Caz (Mo'Nique) moves on to make love with a white punk. Confrontations stampee through Julien's script: black versus white, gay versus straight, police versus punks, anarchy, the National Front versus Rock Against Racism, punk rock versus "the funk".

*Young Soul Rebels* has already generated swirls of debate: the August issue of the fringe, new-look *Sight and Sound* spends six pages dissecting its treatment of politics, sexuality and history. But not one of the pages tells you what it feels like

to watch the film. I will tell you. Time hangs heavy; artifice runs rife. Nina Kellgren's bright, otherworldly photography brings visual pleasures, but never helps characters, the cluster of scenes or the climactic head-on plot to coalesce into a whole. Principal actors — largely newcomers to film — have energy aplenty, but lack any feeling for naturalistic dialogue when they speak, out comes a hollow clang. Above all, the film feels dainty. Given the period — the heyday of punk — and the director's concern to show black culture rising through the turmoil, we need fireworks from both image and soundtrack. Yet the struggle to swim close to the mainstream seems to have sapped Julien's strength: the music hangs no fission of danger, and only at the end, in a "Stiff the Jubees" concert, does the Jubilee atmosphere start to bite. *Young Soul Rebels*? More like young soul mice.

America's television soap operas sit up and beg to be parodied so much that when somebody obliges,

the joke's sting can vanish. This is one of the problems with *Soapdish* (12, Plaza), a broad, light-headed comedy. *Soapdish* is a pastiche of the travails of Sally Field as the long-reigning queen of a daytime serial called *The Sun Also Sets*. Already sensitive about her advancing age (the poor thing is 42), Field's character, Celeste Talbert, becomes further burdened with sudden rewrites, sagging ratings, a spiteful rival plotting her downfall, and the appearance of a fending old beau (Kevin Kline). Bedlam reigns on the studio floor as the cast start washing their dirty linen before the cameras. Ratings soar, of course.

Some of the *Soapdish* crew know popular television at first hand. Twenty-five years ago, Sally Field earned her spurs as a bouncy teenager in *Glitter*; co-producer Aaron Spelling created *Dynasty* and *The Love Boat*. Yet, apart from brief scenes with *Happy Days* producer Garry Marshall as a superbly crass programming head, no insight or venom attaches to the barbs. Right from its Sixties-style opening credits, *Soapdish* hurtles forward with gaudy colours, incessant noise, and not one serious thought in its head. Director Michael Hoffman strives hard to simulate the television



Visually appealing character in a clumsy plot: Sophie Okonedo in Isaac Julien's *Young Soul Rebels*

studio's three-ringed circus, though the cast's shrieks soon get out of hand. Sally Field pushes too hard; while Cathy Moriarty turns Celeste's rival Montana Moorehead into the unfunnyest of screaming harpies.

Controlled frenzy is the key to success here, and only Kevin Kline, as Celeste's old beau, hits the right note throughout: his preening, womanising actor, bubbling with plans for a one-man *Hamlet* after a ghastly period on Florida's dinner-theatre circuit, is a constant joy. Other characters — such as Whoopi Goldberg's writer, Robert Downey Jr.'s spineless producer, and Carrie Fisher's casting director — tend to get lost in the film's madhouse. *Soapdish* is a boisterous enough Bank Holiday diversion, but for the

sharpest jokes about soap operas, rent the video of *Tootsie*.

When roly-poly comic Dan Aykroyd climbed into the director's chair for *Nothing But Trouble* (12, selected regional cinemas) he found — you guessed it — nothing but trouble. Aykroyd hardly smoothed the path before him by playing two roles (both requiring heavy makeup), writing a terrible script, and wading down scenes with elaborate effects. In America the mirthless comedy sank like a stone. In Britain, the distributors expect a quick burial, and are keeping the film well away from the West End: interested masochists must travel to Ealing or Ilford.

Watching this film is akin to suffering brain damage. You emerge blinking into the sunlight, numbed by 94 minutes of abject stupidity.

Proceedings at least begin with a serviceable idea. Wall Street genius Chevy Chase, driving to Atlantic City with Demi Moore and two Brazilian money vultures, takes a detour through the junkyard scenery of Valhalla, a pollution-ravaged New Jersey town. Spotting a minor traffic violation, pernickety cop John Candy hauls them before the local JP (Aykroyd, aged about 150).

Spouting lame wisecracks, Chase and company get shoved through trappings, booze-grubbing machines and other ghoulish stunts. Candy re-emerges in drag as the JP's grand-daughter; Aykroyd re-emerges as Bobo, half of a pair of bulbous toddlers, possibly conceived in crazed homage to Laurel and Hardy. Desperately in need of good jokes, the film piles up ponderous, unfunny grotesquerie instead.

## New wave on the old wavelength

Clive Davis surveys pirate radio, central theme of *Young Soul Rebels* (reviewed left)

**T**hree or four years ago, the air in London was thick with pirate radio stations. To hear them, all you had to do was run the dial up and down the FM waveband. Locating an unused frequency, in those days, was about as easy as finding a parking space off Oxford Street. The technology was relatively inexpensive — some of the most rudimentary transmitters could be housed in biscuit tins — and to be aided by the authorities was a badge of distinction rather than a fatal blow. Operators who had their transmitters seized would soon be back in action.

Today the pirates are in retreat. Given their fly-by-night habits, it is hard to keep a tally of exactly how many stations are still broadcasting. But a spokesman for the Department of Trade and Industry, which supervises the airwaves, puts the number of active stations in the capital at fewer than a dozen, broadcasting intermittently.

There are two main reasons for the decline: the introduction of more stringent deterrents, and the advent of legalised "community" and "incremental" stations. Under new laws which took effect this year, unauthorised disc jockeys are liable to unlimited fines and prison sentences of up to two years; it is also a criminal offence to advertise with a pirate. In the meantime, some former operators, such as London Greek Radio and the dance music specialist Kiss FM, have successfully applied for franchises.

Kiss was typical of the land-based pirates that emerged in the mid-Eighties. Concentrating on soul and rap music, they served an inner-city audience whose tastes were neglected by the radio establishment. With playlists drawn from dance club hits, the stations provided an underground alternative to the pop charts.

As viewers of *Top of the Pops* can confirm, the style of music championed by the likes of Kiss now dominates the mainstream. Like many of its rivals, Kiss voluntarily went off the air in December 1988, pending an application for a London-wide slot. Though it initially lost out to Jazz FM, it was awarded a licence a year later, along with

Lord Hanson's middle-of-the-road Melody FM.

Some of the pirates who failed to win approval eventually returned to the airwaves, but have faced a crackdown from the DTI. According to Alan Russell, a contributor to the black music weekly *Ebony*, most of the survivors fall into two categories. "There are the local reggae stations, and the 'ravey' ones who basically exist to promote parties. The reggae people tend to be particularly chaotic; you hear an endless string of 'hellos' to so-and-so in Stockwell. Some people like that, but if you're interested in



Chaotic? a radio pirate in *Young Soul Rebels*

professionalism it's not all that attractive."

Such talk meets with an indignant response from the head of one south London pirate outfit, who argues that reggae fans are still poorly served by the legalised broadcasters. His station has been on air in the evenings for about a year. Though he regularly loses transmitters to the DTI's inspectors, his studio has so far remained intact.

As long as the technology is available, the pirates are unlikely to fade away altogether. If they are no longer the force they once were, it is partly because, with the broadening of choice, the division between legitimate and pirate broadcasters has narrowed. As if to prove the point, the DTI recently received a complaint about an alleged pirate in the West Midlands, which was reported to have played a record containing "obscene" language. Further investigations revealed that the record was Sid Vicious's strangled version of "My Way". And it was not a pirate after all: it was Radio 1.

elp for geese

Geese are important to the RSPB. Society for the Protection of Birds are last year's campaign to help geese. The RSPB has been successful in getting the government to fund a project to help geese. The project is to help geese by providing them with food and shelter. The project is to help geese by providing them with food and shelter.

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The RSPB has been successful in getting the government to fund a project to help geese. The project is to help geese by providing them with food and shelter. The project is to help geese by providing them with food and shelter.

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The RSPB has been successful in getting the government to fund a project to help geese. The project is to help geese by providing them with food and shelter. The project is to help geese by providing them with food and shelter.

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Witch power

The RSPB has been successful in getting the government to fund a project to help geese. The project is to help geese by providing them with food and shelter. The project is to help geese by providing them with food and shelter.

Light's out

The RSPB has been successful in getting the government to fund a project to help geese. The project is to help geese by providing them with food and shelter. The project is to help geese by providing them with food and shelter.

False alarm

The RSPB has been successful in getting the government to fund a project to help geese. The project is to help geese by providing them with food and shelter. The project is to help geese by providing them with food and shelter.

LITERATURE

## Bardish bandwagon grows into an oriental express gravy-train

**S**even hundred of the world's most erudite scholars of Shakespeare descended on Tokyo from more than 40 countries last week, for the Fifth World Shakespeare Congress, a week-long jamboree combining learned lectures and seminars with Japanese adaptations of *The Merry Wives of Windsor* and *King Lear*, a lute recital, a clowning workshop and a jig.

Delegates clutching Hindi-Japanese dictionaries jostled with others leafing frantically through their Polish-Japanese, Norwegian-Japanese and Arabic-Japanese phrase books. But the 700 quickly discovered their one common tongue, and rarefied Shakespearean repartee soon filled auditoria from Tokyo's last-applied Pastoral Hotel to the Kyoritsu College of Pharmacy, a private Tokyo medical college not exactly renowned as fertile ground for lofty literary scholarship, but nevertheless empty and situated near the hotel, so temporarily overrun by the scholarly hordes.

The congress takes place once every five years and has already swept through Vancouver, Washington DC, Stratford-upon-Avon and Berlin. Having fought for the honour of playing host, Japan's Shakespeare enthusiasts spent three full years organising the event and drumming up sponsorship from public and private foundations, some generous Japanese breweries, publishing and electronics companies.

Novelist David Lodge would have delighted in the assembly. There was Lata Narendra Moharir, from Aurangabad in India, who teaches Shakespeare in Urdu; and there was Roslyn dayenne of the University of Arkansas, Little Rock. Hassell B. Siedel, from Slippery Rock University, addressed a gathering on "Hamlet and Hamletism".

With customary thoroughness, the Japanese have hosted the latest World Shakespeare Congress. Joanna Pitman reports from Tokyo on a scholarly junket



Cross-cultural Yukio Ninagawa's production of *Macbeth*, the hit of the 1985 Edinburgh Festival

Brownell Salomoni, of Bowling Green State University, dealt with new approaches to Shakespeare's uses of history; and Toshiko Shibata delivered his paper on "Voices and Silences in Shakespeare". Bearded and bespectacled scholars from the Universities of Gdansk, Tbilisi, Rio de Janeiro and Haifa met each morning over breakfast with refined minds from Bob Jones University, King Saud University, Uppsala University and the Kyushu Dental College. The Fondation Institute Shakespeare of Spain had

spare, Ibsen and Rome: a study of cultural transmission". But for those not entirely gripped by the prospect of two hours on "Shakespeare and the heterogeneous classroom" or "Renaissance and the German Shakespeare tradition", there were plenty of opportunities to peel off on extra-curricular outings to see tea ceremonies, geisha shows and to "experience the 'Big Ten' attractions" at Tokyo's Disneyland.

Yuki Kaneko, a member of the Shakespeare Society of Japan and impresario in charge of last week's congress arrangements, believes that Japan's Shakespeare studies, which go back more than a century, have finally come of age. No longer do the Japanese need to hijack ideas from American or British scholars, tinker with them in secret laboratories and then turn out re-assembled products under a Japanese name. "We don't rely on foreign models any more, because we produce our own views and versions of Shakespeare," he said.

Yukio Ninagawa's *Macbeth*, performed in Japanese by the 1985 Edinburgh Festival. This autumn Yasunari Takahashi will take his Japanese *Kyogen* adaptation of *The Merry Wives of Windsor* to the Japan Festival in London, and Tokyo's avant-garde theatre company, Ban'ya-Inryoku, will take its own version of *King Lear*.

For the average designer-label worshipping Japanese, however, a Shakespeare performance carries just as much cachet as a Fortnum and Mason teabag or a Burberry brody. Thousands of well brought up young ladies fill their pre-marriage years at college composing theses on *The Tempest* and *The Taming of the Shrew*, but will readily admit that they have never read the English language texts. Yet judging by the "We groove sex and Shakespeare!" logos found on Japanese T-shirts, Japan's Shakespeare studies for the people may indeed be coming of age.

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# Three days that shook the world

Bernard Levin celebrates the great day when the people mocked the usurpers and liberty began to flower in Moscow

My hero, H.L. Mencken, was once covering a very boring American presidential convention, so boring that he wandered out of the hall in search of a drink and subsequently fell fast asleep for hours, during which time the crucial question had been settled after a mighty battle among the delegates. He had sent his story back to *The Baltimore Sun* earlier in the day, and only later did he discover that there had been dramatic changes while he was asleep. Pausing only to put his cigar in the other corner of his mouth, he wired the office with the memorable words: "Insert 'not', as the sense requires, throughout."

Well, the Soviet people got rid of their usurping traitors within the timescale I predicted on Tuesday. I gave them four years to do so and they did it in three days. I can only say that it is very nice to be wrong in the right direction. But if I erred on the side of caution, at least I got the instrument right; on cue and word-perfect, it was the immortal muzhik who stood firm, looking across not so much because his freedom was being taken from him but because he had just been woken up by all the noise.

And the muzhik said "Nyet". And behold, it was Nyet. And the morning and the evening were, the third day. And Boris Yeltsin saw that it was good, and behold, it was very good. And Mikhail Gorbachev was pretty chuffed too.

Forgive the skittishness, but I feel skittish. I have lived all my life in the certainty that a house built upon the rock will stand, and that one built upon the sand will fall, and great will be the fall of it. Do you suppose that I would now allow myself to believe that a pack of thieving scoundrels can turn such tremendous truths upside down in a single day? And not just any day, but my birthday?

We who do not have coups may think that they are remote and peculiar things, and we have great difficulty in understanding them. For instance, there is much talk these days about the disillusionment of the Poles and Czechs and East Germans and members of the other nations who, having lived so long as serfs in the Soviet empire, awoke to find that although they are at last free, life is still hard, queues long, jobs scarce, homes cold, food poor, joy rare. The people of the Soviet Union clearly feel the same disappointment, but for them it is even more painful, because their conditions have become worse since the ending of the reign of Soviet terror, and will inevitably become worse yet before the other end of the seesaw starts to swing up.

Here, we are now being told that the seesaw has actually stuck, that the Russian people think that the measure of freedom they now enjoy is worthless, and that they would willingly give it away for a second potato on the ration. That was more or less how the Soviet

Union was governed for decades, until the governors truly believed that the hopes of freedom had died out forever. But it was not only because the second potato never turned up that brave men and women nerved themselves to dissent. Once these had blazed the trail, there was no chance of any of the rest forgetting that even a full belly is not enough. Only those outside the Soviet Union think that the hungry muzhik prefers potatoes to freedom; I would not be at all surprised to find Professor Hobsbawm nodding his head in agreement with such views. (I mean, y'know, Stalin, like, did go a bit too far, I reckon, but you knew where you were with him, eh?)

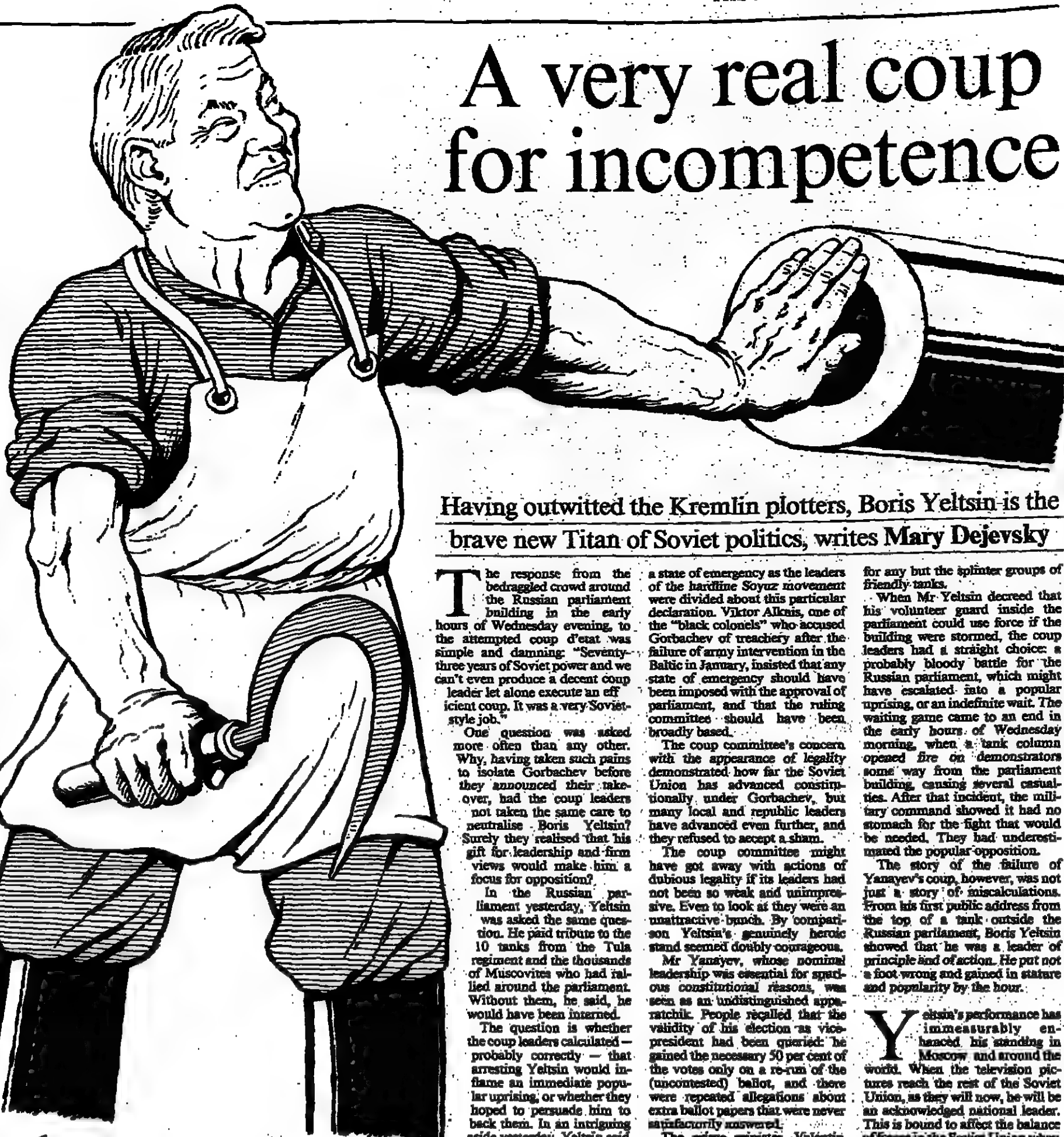
Turn again to the pictures of the crowds in Moscow surrounding the Parliament building; no, before you do so, just savour the words "Parliament building". It is a Parliament building, and there are members in it, who were elected by the voters, who marked their ballot-papers without fear in a secret ballot, their votes being correctly counted and properly allocated in accordance with the appropriate statutes.

I promise we shall come to the pictures in a minute, but let me go on for a bit longer with the words. There will be more dangers for those who hold the future of the Soviet Union in their hands; the failure of the coup is by no means a guarantee that there will never be another. In any case, the Soviet Union is not yet fully free; the signal that will mean that its people can hoist the flag of complete democracy is the removal from Red Square of the mock-up of Lenin in his glass tomb.

After all, it was he who destroyed the hopes of freedom for which so many had died, he who fastened the fetters on the wrists of the Soviet people, he who laid out and filled the original Gulag, he who paved the way for the Soviet holocaust. I have never accepted that the mass of the people were deceived; they knew from the first that a darkness more evil than anything in the world's history had descended upon them; it was well for them that they could not know how long would be the wait for the light.

It was a very long time coming, that light, a very long time indeed; when it came, though, it was so powerful that the eyes of strong men watered, and the demand for sunglasses made millionaires of the vendors thereof. And did you suppose that a bunch of pickpockets with hastily-assembled titles were going to draw the blinds again without a fight?

Now let us look at the pictures. The size of the crowd is breathtaking, but so it was, of course, in Tiananmen Square. The usurpers,



Barbrook

if they were to give the order to fire, would need to be sure, quite sure, that the order would be obeyed; it was obeyed in Tiananmen Square but not in Dresden; which way were they to look? The villains looked about, anxiously, for a clue, but they should have listened. Their fate was decided in one great sound: when the loudspeakers announced that a curfew had been imposed, and the crowds must therefore disperse, a mighty shout went up — a shout not of anger, not of hate, not of supplication, not of weariness, but of ironic cheers. As those splendid rolling cheers gradually died away, both the populace and the usurpers could see that no one had moved. The usurpers, at that point, would have done well to drown themselves, preferably in the Rubicon.

Those ironic cheers will echo in history, and they deserve to. They said that the Soviet people had, in the past few years, gone far towards truth, decency and true

self-government, and that they were going to go on until they had reached those goals. But the cheers said more: they said that the Soviet people have the strength, courage and determination to get there, that they know what heritage they have been robbed of, all through the years, that although they have repeatedly been beaten by their knees they have never forgotten how to stand up, that with enough patience and effort of will, they can disperse the poverty, ignorance, hunger and brutishness that have been their lot since the terrible curtain fell.

The people who walked in darkness have seen a great light; in three days that shook the world they took their own destiny in their hands and chased from their midst the robbers who would take it from them. Yes, those three days shook the world; but they also shook the tree of hope, and lo! the fruits of courage were showered upon them.

Friends, eat heartily!

# A very real coup for incompetence

Having outwitted the Kremlin plotters, Boris Yeltsin is the brave new Titan of Soviet politics, writes Mary Dejevsky

The response from the bedraggled crowd around the Russian parliament building in the early hours of Wednesday evening, to the attempted coup d'état was simple and damning: "Seventy-three years of Soviet power and we can't even produce a decent coup leader let alone execute an efficient job. It was a very Soviet-style job."

One question was asked more often than any other. Why, having taken such pains to isolate Gorbachev before they announced their takeover, had the coup leaders not taken the same care to neutralise Boris Yeltsin? Surely they realised that his gift for leadership and firm views would make him a focus for opposition?

In the Russian parliament yesterday, Yeltsin was asked the same question. He paid tribute to the 10 tanks from the Tula regiment and the thousands of Muscovites who had rallied around the parliament. Without them, he said, he would have been insured.

The question is whether the coup leaders calculated — probably correctly — that arresting Yeltsin would inflame an immediate popular uprising, or whether they hoped to persuade him to back them. In an intriguing aside yesterday, Yeltsin said that the eight-member emergency committee had made overtures to several people in an attempt to broaden the committee's political representation. Enjoying the moment, he said that not one had answered their call.

A second serious problem for the coup concerned its constitutional legality. Its leaders clearly hoped to preserve a facade of legitimacy by retiring President Gorbachev on health grounds and having his power pass to his vice-president. But only their statement of his ill-health was adduced in evidence.

The committee's declaration of a state of emergency was even more legally dubious. According to legislation passed by the Soviet parliament last year, an emergency must be approved by the parliament of the republic in which it is to be imposed or, failing that, by a two-thirds majority in the all-Union parliament. A provision allows the president to declare an emergency and then have it retrospectively approved. Even such ardent supporters of

a state of emergency as the leaders of the hardline Soviet movement were divided about this particular declaration. Viktor Alkin, one of the "black colonels" who accused Gorbachev of treachery after the failure of army intervention in the Baltic in January, insisted that any state of emergency should have been imposed with the approval of parliament, and that the ruling committee should have been broadly based.

The coup committee's concern with the appearance of legality demonstrated how far the Soviet Union has advanced constitutionally, under Gorbachev, but many local and republic leaders have advanced even further, and they refused to accept a sham.

The coup committee might have got away with actions of dubious legality if its leaders had not been so weak and unimpressive. Even to look at they were an unattractive bunch. By comparison Yeltsin's genuinely heroic stand seemed doubly courageous.

Mr Yanayev, whose nominal leadership was essential for spurious constitutional reasons, was seen as an undistinguished apparition. People recalled that the validity of his election as vice-president had been queried: he gained the necessary 50 per cent of the votes only on a re-run of the (uncontested) ballot, and there were repeated allegations about extra ballot papers that were never satisfactorily answered.

The prime minister, Valentin Pavlov, was always handicapped by his physical appearance (Russians scornfully called him "pig-hedgehog") and the unpopularity of his money-confiscating exercise. The troops of the defence minister, interior minister and KGB chief had the image of cardboard law-enforcers, and the two representatives of the military-industrial complex, Oleg Baklanov and Aleksandr Tizyakov, never emerged fully from the shadows. When this coalition started to fall apart, reportedly over the use of force against Russia's defiance, there was no strong figure to hold it together.

The coup committee's final error was its clumsy application of force in Moscow. Over two days, the centre of the city was gradually saturated with military hardware, yet nothing was done to prevent the building of vast barricades on the approaches to the Russian parliament or on the inner ring-road. By night, few police were in evidence anywhere in the city and the area around the Russian parliament appeared a no-go area

for any but the splinter groups of friendly tanks.

When Mr Yeltsin decreed that his volunteer guard inside the parliament could use force if the building were stormed, the coup leaders had a straight choice: a probably bloody battle for the Russian parliament, which might have escalated into a popular uprising, or an indefinite wait. The waiting game came to an end in the early hours of Wednesday morning, when a tank column opened fire on demonstrators some way from the parliament building, causing several casualties. After that incident, the military command showed it had no stomach for the fight that would be needed. They had underestimated the popular opposition.

The story of the failure of Yanayev's coup, however, was not just a story of miscalculations. From his first public address from the top of a tank outside the Russian parliament, Boris Yeltsin showed that he was a leader of principle and of action. He put not a foot wrong and gained in stature and popularity by the hour.

Yeltsin's performance has immeasurably enhanced his standing in Moscow and around the world. When the television pictures reach the rest of the Soviet Union, as they will now, he will be an acknowledged national leader. This is bound to affect the balance of forces in the Soviet Union when Mikhail Gorbachev resumes his presidential duties.

Had the Russian president not resisted so stoutly, the coup would not be returning to the Kremlin as Soviet president. From now on, Yeltsin will be beholden first to Yeltsin and second to leaders of the other dissenting republics, for upholding the constitution. Georgi Shakhmatov, one of Gorbachev's closest advisers, yesterday suggested that this alliance with the forces of democracy could only benefit Gorbachev and the Soviet Union. The headline opposition has now been demonstrably beaten.

However, one can foresee a time, and not so far ahead, when strong republic leaders start to eclipse the central leadership entirely. Initially, that may lead to the sort of federal state which both Yeltsin and Gorbachev say they want. The natural conclusion of this process, however, is the disappearance of the centre altogether and the break-up of the Soviet Union.

...and moreover

## CRAIG BROWN

Who is the most boring person that ever lived? This sounds like an unsolvable schoolboy question, like "If you are in a plummeting lift, will it help if you jump up and down?", but frankly I'm pretty sure I have the answer.

On the front page of *The Times* the day before yesterday there was a long box entitled "What They Said". In it were recorded the reactions of various politicians — Bush, Hurd, Yanayev — to the coup in the Soviet Union. At the very bottom, just under Saddam Hussein, came an Italian writer called Renzio Boscolo. "Nostradamus said it would happen between May and August this year," he said.

Nostradamus this, Nostradamus that. After every major world event, one Nostradamus expert or another will pop up to say, "He knew, you know". It last happened after the invasion of Kuwait, and before that after the toppling of the Berlin Wall. Nostradamus is also credited with predicting the abdication of King Edward VIII, the invention of the hot-air balloon, the rise of Hitler and almost everything else that has ever happened.

Born at St Rémy in 1503, he spent much of his life staring for hours into a brass bowl filled with water. In this brass bowl, he would see thousands of visions, none of which he considered unworthy of insertion in a great big book. He wrote these prophecies in what his supporters have described as "cryptic phrases", in order, they say, "to obscure

his meaning... because he considered it dangerous to give too clear a picture of the future".

So brilliantly cryptic were Nostradamus's phrases that they can mean whatever you want them to mean. Wisely, his professional interpreters prefer to unscramble their meaning after rather than before any event. Authors who have tried to make sense of Nostradamus's predictions before they actually been fulfilled have become hopelessly unstuck. For instance, *Prophecies on World Events by Nostradamus* by Steward Robb, published in 1961, predicted the return of Anthony Eden to the office of prime minister, and the coming of Armageddon for 24 years beginning in 1973.

Three or four books about Nostradamus are published every year. I have one called *The Final Prophecies of Nostradamus*, by Erika Cheetham, published in 1989. Although Cheetham spreads her interpretive net wide — of one of Nostradamus's prophecies she writes "This probably refers to the second world war, rather than Vietnam or Korea, although it might equally be applicable to the Iran-Iraq War or the war in Afghanistan..." — she fails to find any reference to such events as Tiananmen Square, the downfall of Mrs Thatcher or even the Gulf war.

In the *TLS* of August 2, the astigmatic diarist D.S. condemned the publishers Bloomsbury for churning out a book called *Nostradamus — The End*

of the Millennium: *Prophecies 1992 to 2001*. The case for publication now looks even weaker. Though the authors boldly make extremely specific predictions — Mrs Thatcher to lead the Tories again in 1996, aliens televised in 1998 — they made no mention of momentous events in the Soviet Union.

I have a word of consolation for them, however. In Stewart Robb's 1961 book, the following quatrain:

Istra de mont Gaulfier et Avenir  
Qui par le trou advertira l'amee,  
Entre deux rocs sera pris le butin.

was identified as a brilliantly prescient reference to the Montgolfier brothers, for balloons have holes, they can be used for warning armies, and Pope Pius VI, then reigning, was obviously Sextus. This is a key quatrain with which Nostradamus fans argue his authenticity.

But now a stunning new interpretation opens up. More than 450 years before it happened, Nostradamus foretold his own bad review in the *TLS*. "Mont" in English is, of course, "Mount". The editor of the *TLS* is Mr Ferdinand Mount. The diarist D.S. ("De Sext.") is Mr David Sexton, who, being a senior editor, is obviously the *mansol*, or corner-stone. And why should it be that "The renown of Sextus the corner-stone will fail"? Why, because he has seen fit to criticise the arch-bore Nostradamus, of course.

## Man who fled to Moscow

THE SUDDEN appearance of Mstislav Rostropovich alongside Boris Yeltsin at the Russian Parliament building took even his closest friends by surprise. The Soviet-born cellist flew out from London to be with his friend, the Russian leader, without telling even his wife of his departure, fearing she would restrain him.

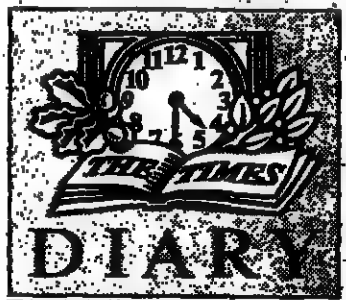
"He does these heroic things," says Victor Hochhauser, his manager and friend for more than 40 years. Although they speak daily, Hochhauser was also kept in the dark. "I couldn't have stopped him even if I had wanted to."

Rostropovich's wife, the opera singer Galina Vishnevskaya, heard of her husband's flight thanks to a phone-call from a friend in London. She is understandably upset by her husband's secrecy. "Yes, I would have tried to stop him," she said. "There's no point in him going." Rostropovich met Yeltsin at a charity concert in Moscow this summer, shortly before his historic return to perform before Vladimir Havel in Prague, 23 years after he vowed not to set foot on Czechoslovak soil until the last Soviet tank had left. The two men immediately got on well and the cellist clearly felt his place was alongside his friend.

Last night Hochhauser was still waiting to hear from Rostropovich. "As his next big engagement is not until October when he is due to play in a Prokofiev festival in London, he is probably planning to stay some considerable time," he says.

## Home news

BBC staff in Australia may be among the more unlikely victims of the failed Soviet coup. When



the first news came through of the overthrow of Gorbachev, the BBC's Sydney office promised the Australian Broadcasting Corporation a live feed of the Beeb's most up-to-the-minute coverage from London. Top Australian newscaster Richard Moorecroft advised viewers to stand by... whereupon he popped smiling weatherman Francis Wilson predicting rain in Warrington.

This was followed by a full list of the morning's cancellations to London's train and bus services and the unfortunate delay on the route taking the good citizens of Bromley to their desks in the City. The nation from Adelaide to Woolgoolga was less than gripped, but after a full five minutes it was finally rewarded with the first reference to the Soviet Union. It was Francis Wilson again, this time with an international weather map reporting stormy conditions over the Urals. Finally Moorecroft reappeared, spluttering apologies.

## Plot boiler

HAS President Gorbachev been sitting in the Crimea all along knowing that a return to Moscow's Lenin Hills was only days away? One of the wilder pieces of speculation circulating in Moscow yesterday suggested that the chief architect of the Soviet leader's temporary downfall was none

other than Gorbachev himself. What better way, runs the thinking, to reinforce his position and get the hardliners out of his hair once and for all? He must have known the coup leaders were incompetent, says this bizarre conspiracy-within-a-conspiracy theory, so he set them up to destroy themselves.

There is even a parallel, points out Alex Nove, former director of the Institute of Soviet Studies at Glasgow University. "During the crackdown in Lithuania, Gorbachev gave the amber light to the hardliners, saying: 'I don't think this will work but you can try.' Gorbachev was again vindicated. Nove thinks the latest theory is improbable, "but anything is possible in such a fluid situation." Who knows, perhaps Boris Yeltsin was really the man behind events. At least the coup should inspire John Le Carré.

During the missing 72 hours of his life, did President Gorbachev sample Raisa's home cooking for the first time in many years? Cooking for Mikhail was one of the great pleasures of Mrs Gorbachev's life, according to Raisa. Urala Jurgens biography published by Weidenfeld & Nicolson last year. But since Gorbachev came to power, the kitchens of his town-house and dacha have been the exclusive domain of the KGB. The secret police thought Mrs Gorbachev was in a perfect position to poison him.

## Kilts on the beaches

FOR members of such a proud nation, the last Scottish regiment to go into battle wearing kilts — at Dunkirk in 1940 — has been remarkably reticent about its claim to fame. For 50 years, the Cameron Highlanders have kept silent. Their dress sense goes unremarked in the official regi-

mental history. Now part of the Queen's Own Highlanders, the Camerons are finally planning to put the record straight by commissioning a painting recording the battle, which will depict them complete with kilts.

The explanation is that the kilts were an open flouting of orders that Highland regiments should wear the universal battle dress because of the risk from mustard gas. The Camerons got around the

There's nae rule against wearing sporrans



problem by using underwear impregnated with an anti-gas substance but, even so, they could not boast about such a flagrant flouting of discipline.

General Sir Philip Christison, aged 97, who fought in the Cameron kilt as a lieutenant in the first world war and won the military cross in the second world war, was one of the first to make a donation to the regimental fund to commission the painting.

"It was a matter of great pride for us to wear our kilts. It was good for morale," he says. The painting, by the war artist David Rowlands, will hang in the regimental museum at Fort George, and is due to be completed in 1993 for the 200th anniversary of the raising of the original regiment.

هكذا اقول الاصل





## YELTSIN'S HEROIC DAY

Yesterday marked an astonishing triumph for Boris Yeltsin and Russian democracy. The triumph was not just personal. It marked the clear end to a method of ruling the Soviet Union — by cliques, bullying, lying and conspiracy — that has lasted since 1917. The agency of the triumph, resistance on the streets of the cities and division within the armed forces, matters less than the fact itself. After two days of despair, there is now glorious hope.

Beyond that, all is uncertainty. The cathartic effect of the failed coup on Soviet politics is as yet incalculable. President Yeltsin, supported elsewhere in Russia by Anatoly Sobchak of Leningrad and leaders of other republics openly defying the coup, has had his status immeasurably strengthened. The notion of compromise with the junta never tempted Mr Yeltsin. His personal and political gamble was huge. Tuesday night's street fighting would have been far bloodier if the soldiers deployed had had the stomach for a fight. The measure of Mr Yeltsin's courage is that, neither he nor the world watching could have been at all confident his defiance would succeed.

Two immediate matters must be addressed: the status of the returning president, Mikhail Gorbachev, and the Union treaty, its passage so rudely interrupted this week. They are linked. Mr Yeltsin was helped in his victory by the embryonic but already democratic state structure in the Russian republic. His creation of his own KGB and his electioneering within the army apparatus paid off. Bureaucrats and soldiers could see in him an alternative source of patronage and authority, a democratically legitimate one, to set against that of the conspirators. The Union treaty will immensely strengthen that authority, granting the republics in addition extensive economic power.

The steady transfer of authority from the Soviet Union to the republics, already proposed by Mr Gorbachev, must now take place much faster. Control of the armed forces may also be dispersed. Mr Yeltsin is unlikely to permit any upset to occur again. By last night it even seemed as if a sort of coup-in-reverse had happened, with the Russian president pre-empting the treaty and seizing the key reins of central power from the coup leaders.

Today Mr Yeltsin's international standing could not be higher. In the absence of Mr Gorbachev, George Bush, John Major and other world leaders had no choice but to focus on him their cautious diplomacy as they watched the coup unfold and then collapse. They had previously accepted their foreign ministries' advice that Mr Yeltsin was unreliable and as yet lacking in real power. They preferred to deal with a Mr Gorbachev who, as they now know, was politically weak. They must realise by now that the Soviet president is a lame duck.

Even if he returns to a hero's welcome in the Kremlin, Mr Gorbachev must to a great extent now be Mr Yeltsin's puppet. He had set his hand to a particular path of reform, at a pace regarded by Mr Yeltsin as too slow by far. That policy proved disastrous. Mr Yeltsin has won not just power but the argument. Mr Gorbachev is a crucial symbol of con-

stitutional continuity and legitimacy, and his reinstatement is an essential first step both to the signing of the Union treaty and to further reform. Mr Yeltsin is making good his promise to reinstate the legal head of state. But he and the world knows that it was his own legitimacy, based on a popular mandate, which made possible that restoration.

But Mr Yeltsin also has to answer some awesome questions. The army was both the agency of the coup and of its crumbling. Can he use his new prestige, to refashion the army's vast potency as a servant of democracy, both in Russia and in the other republics? More to the point, will Mr Yeltsin use his new power to build himself a wider Soviet base than that of Russia alone? And will that in turn erode Russia's enthusiasm for regional autonomy, for instance in the Ukraine? The process of Soviet disintegration has been hastened by the coup. Several small republics on the Baltic and in Transcaucasia had already dissociated themselves from the Union. The Union treaty may be a halfway house towards a confederation or even a looser association of republics. But there is a huge military, industrial and bureaucratic interest in the survival of the Soviet empire, one that has proved too powerful even for the ingenuities of Mr Gorbachev.

Whatever succeeds the signing of the Union treaty and its successor instruments, Russia can be reasonably regarded as on path to parliamentary democracy with a basically capitalist economic system. Mr Yeltsin has surrounded himself with enthusiasts for economic reform, all impatient of the impediments that Mr Gorbachev found it so hard to remove and that have been so dramatically swept aside. But there is a great deal of trouble still in the Soviet empire. Ethnic and religious disputes in Transcaucasia and the central Asian republics should no longer be resolved by the imposition of Soviet military force. But that may not end intercommunal strife, and might even seduce Russian politicians into feeling that once subordinate states require again the firm hand of Mother Russia.

That said, Mr Gorbachev, with such moral authority as remains to him, and Mr Yeltsin, with such authority as he can rightly claim, have a heavy duty jointly to greet the dazzling opportunity this extraordinary event offers them and the world. The opportunity is there for the final and complete break with Leninism and all its works; the return of Russia to a free economy; the entrenchment of democratic rights in one of the great nations of the world; the freeing of dozens of subject states from one of the century's most oppressive imperial yokes; the demolition of one of the world's most terrifying arsenals; and active participation in the policing of world conflicts.

That such benefits are today, on offer, benefits so much greater than Mr Gorbachev could ever promise, is the measure of Mr Yeltsin's triumph. They are as yet only on offer. The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, one of the 20th century's most cruel and inept creations, is today scotched not killed. But the events of this week have surely hastened its demise.

## EUROPE AFTER THE COUP

Europe has had a nasty fight and must absorb the lesson. Had the Soviet junta clung to power, the resurgence of hardline militarism in Eastern Europe could have become a reality. Instability is contagious and economic hardship is its breeding ground. The worst mistake the European Community could now make would be to conclude that the collapse of the Soviet junta diminishes the urgency of promoting the prosperity of Eastern Europe.

The first task, which has been inexcusably delayed, is crucial. It is to open EC markets to these countries' goods forthwith. On Tuesday EC foreign ministers agreed to speed up the "Europe agreements" with Poland, Hungary and Czechoslovakia. These have been held up by the refusal of the Twelve to open their markets to the exports — coal, steel, textiles and above all food — in which Eastern Europe is most competitive.

The problems are not technical. Brussels has plenty of gnomes to work out the small print. The agreements could be concluded within a month. The obstacle is political, and Jacques Delors is right to pour scorn on the double standards of politicians who make "tearful speeches" about democracy and free markets and then slam the door to Polish veal or wheat — even if M. Delors' hostility to real reform of the common agricultural policy renders him vulnerable to the same charge. M. Delors has asked for a flexible negotiating mandate. He must be given it immediately. Similar agreements should be extended to Romania, Bulgaria and, when the EC knows with whom it has to deal, with Yugoslavia or its successor republics.

Trade pacts are important but they can only be a first step. The EC has a much deeper ambivalence to resolve. Its members are split between those led by France that prefer to keep the EC as a settled rich man's club, and those who believe that East Europeans should be offered full membership. Even the title "Europe Agreements", given to the trade pacts, reflects this. "Co-operation agreement" is too weak to satisfy the East Europeans and "association agreement" goes too far for the French. These pacts were devised not as a way of uniting Europe but of fending off those knocking on the door with a handful of economic sweets.

In any debate on such narrow calculations of interest, the West has acknowledged that its security and prosperity are inseparable from the stability of Eastern Europe. EC member-

ship should be declared open to all free-market democracies, extending to Eastern Europe the Monnet vision that inspired the Treaty of Rome. If there is a conflict between "widening" and "deepening", widening must always take precedence.

The most insidious argument against widening the Community is that membership would "ruin" the Eastern Europeans because their economies are in no state to be exposed to open competition with the industrialised West. That argument was not heard against admitting Greece in 1981 and Spain and Portugal in 1986. All three had recently emerged from dictatorship; the EC's aim in offering them membership was to consolidate democracy. By no stretch of the imagination were Greece and Portugal economically "competitive" with the EC at the time. They were duly given special treatment to reflect their weakness.

If for Portugal, why not for Poland? Membership for Eastern Europeans would be anything but cost-free for the richer members of the club, and that is the real reason they hesitate. It is for the elected governments of these countries to decide whether the political prize of "joining the West", as they call it, is worth the accompanying short-term additions to their economic hardship. Hungary intends to submit its application the day after signing its "Europe agreement" with the Twelve.

If the new democracies are prepared to accept the obligations of membership, the EC must have the maturity to treat their applications on the same basis as those now pending from Austria and Sweden, adding the necessary measures of transitional relief. In what now reads as a prophetic speech, the American secretary of state, James Baker, warned the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe two months ago that isolated, the East Europeans would be exposed to "fragmentation and conflict" which could "ultimately threaten democracy". He called for a Euro-Atlantic Community reaching westward from Vancouver to Vladivostok, explicitly extending a welcome into that community for a democratic Soviet Union.

A determined effort by the EC to build the European pillar of such a community would be a far better investment in European security than pursuit of a common EC defence policy. There is no doubt that enlargement will be contentious. All the more reason for serious planning to begin.

## Looking to future in Soviet turmoil

From Sir Anthony Meyer, MP for Clwyd North West (Conservative)

Sir, Events in the Soviet Union, like those in Yugoslavia, show the urgency of finding a way to reconcile legitimate national independence with effective limits on the use of force between these same nations; and to do so without authoritarian pressure from a Napoleon, a Hitler or a Stalin above or suppression of freedom within.

The European Community, in which 12 fully independent nation states have voluntarily accepted irreversible limitations on their sovereignty, and have furthermore accepted that democratic freedom is an indispensable condition of membership, offers a pattern for the nations of Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union alike; not just a pattern, but an eventual safe haven — but only on condition that closer relations between the EC and the nations of Eastern Europe and of the Soviet Union do not lead to any dilution of the principles, the federal principles, which have held the European Community together through these troubled years.

I am, Sir, your obedient servant, ANTHONY MEYER, House of Commons, August 21.

From Mr Tony Bottomley

Sir, I find it incredible to read (report, August 20) that some months ago information from "reliable sources" was available of a proposed coup against Mr Gorbachev. If that is true then the same Western leaders who enthusiastically jumped on the Gorbachev reform train should be accountable for not seeing it, and it may happen, the cold war and the "Russian bear", reappear in the next five years.

Yours etc, TONY BOTTOMLEY, West Hill Grange, North Road, Horsforth, Leeds, West Yorkshire, August 20.

From Mr Roy Miles

Sir, I was appalled to read ("Holidays cancelled after government warning", August 21) that tourists were quoted as saying that people are enjoying the spectacle of the uprising in Russia and are finding it very exciting.

Certainly when I left Moscow on Monday I saw nothing to enjoy, only a sense of fear amidst the chaos of hotels running out of food. The airport was "swarming" with worried families, including children and pets, who had little prospect of getting seats on the crowded planes.

Perhaps it would be better if people visited and saw the real situation before making insensitive comments.

Yours faithfully, ROY MILES, Miles International Limited, 29 Bruton Street, Mayfair, W1, August 21.

From Mr Mark H. Lomas

Sir, For a long time now the political spectrum has been clear and popularly understood. Free marketeers, monetarists and the like are said to be on the right, liberals and social democrats in the middle, and social-

ists, communists and the like on the left.

Why therefore are an increasing number of academic and political commentators in the media referring to what has been happening in the USSR as a "right wing" coup? Gorbachev and Yeltsin have been trying to free Russia and the USSR from the grip of Marxist and socialist dogma and move them towards the liberal centre. They are opposed by old-fashioned Marxist communists. What has taken place is a "left wing" coup and should be so described.

The long-standing claim of the left to occupy the moral high ground needs finally to be challenged. I am, Sir, your obedient servant, MARK LOMAS, 2 Crown Office Row, Temple, EC4, August 21.

From the Director of the International Freedom Foundation (UK)

Sir, A clear factor that contributed to the action against President Gorbachev was the fact that the new Union treaty was about to be signed without the signatures of the three Baltic states, amongst others, on the document. The headline communists behind these events were unable to stomach the break-up of the USSR as evidently desired by the peoples of the three Baltic countries.

In the light of this the West has both a moral and political obligation to extend full recognition to these countries and supply them with whatever reasonable aid their governments desire.

Yours faithfully, MARC GORDON, Director, International Freedom Foundation (UK), Suite 500, Chesham House, 150 Regent Street, W1.

From Mr Neil D. Foster

Sir, It is not clear whether the political career of Mr Gorbachev is assured, but the changes that he has caused, in the matter of detente, of liberalisation within the Soviet Union, of lifting oppression from neighbouring nations, were entirely unexpected when he took office, unimagined and perhaps unimaginable.

There may have been tyrannies as absolute as and of longer endurance than the Soviet Union, but none has ever imprisoned, tortured, starved and murdered as many of its own people — and all in 70 years of our own century.

The reform that Gorbachev has brought about is enormous and he has had to attempt it without the successes and failures of historical precedent to guide him. The difficulties, complexities and risks are beyond imagining.

The Soviet Union may be at the beginning of regression, slight or stark, we know not. Be that as it may, has there been an achievement in the history of statesmanship among mankind to equal that of Mikhail Gorbachev?

Yours sincerely, N. FOSTER, Turzom, Parkgate Road, Neston, Cheshire, August 21.

## National treasures

From Mr R. W. Hamilton, FBA

Sir, It is good to know that the "Middleham Jewel" is to stay in this country (report, August 9). It is less satisfactory to reflect that its fate has depended on the hazardous collection of an arbitrarily determined sum of money.

The jewel was sold at Sotheby's in 1986 for £1.4 million; five years later its anonymous owner has accepted £2.5 million to part with it. These and other inflated prices paid in recent years for works of art or antiquity are purely artificial, depending on the whim or ambition of collectors or investors, irrespective of any rational or scholarly appraisal of historical or aesthetic value.

It is surely absurd that the retention in this country, or abandonment, of any object which informed taste or judgment could reasonably call part of the "national heritage" should depend on the fluctuations of an ephemeral market. I suggest that the nation should be enacted to establish an authority competent to declare, at any appropriate moment, that a particular object was deemed part of the national heritage and that its export would in no circumstances be allowed. This would, I believe, quickly inject a whiff of reason into the buying and selling of important works of art.

Yours faithfully, R. W. HAMILTON, (Keeper, Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, 1962-72), The Haskers, Westleton, Suffolk.

## Academic priorities

From Sir Richard Southern

Sir, It is widely believed that Oxford University intends to suppress the annual information available — in what is commonly known as the Norrington table — about the varying success of students from different colleges in the final examinations (report, July 20).

The grounds for this change of policy appear to be that the information may be misleading. For instance, it may suggest that the teaching in some colleges is better than in others, whereas the truth may be that the colleges with the best results attract the best applicants; or that this information may encourage the wrong kind of

## Asylum judgment

From Mr D. G. Llewellyn Morgan

Sir, I wonder how many of your readers noticed the contrast between the reported statement of Lord Prosser in his judgment, delivered in the Outer House of Scotland's Court of Session (Law Report, August 15) in the case of *Sokha v Home Secretary* and what Mr David Burgess had to say in his letter to you published on August 14.

You report Lord Prosser as saying in relation to the home secretary (the respondent in the case) that "the respondent could be relied upon to obey any order of the court, even in England".

Mr Burgess wrote as the solicitor acting for M, an asylum-seeker removed by the Home Office notwithstanding an undertaking to the court not to do so. Only because

## Advertising and food

From the Director General of the Incorporated Society of British Advertisers

Sir, Michael Grade ("Don't junk the ads", August 14) rightly pours scorn on those who seek to ban television advertising for products which they do not like, in this case "junk food". As he points out, any ban of this kind would be an interference with free speech and would be unhelpful to consumers. I have no doubt that the government will recognise this trap and avoid it.

Yet many pressure groups seem to believe that proposing bans on other people is an appropriate way to

## Means of rescuing the village shop

From Mr Derek Smith

Sir, Out-of-town megastores and lack of local patronage have certainly contributed to the demise of many village shops, as your leader (August 19) observes. The fundamental cause, however, is the greatly increased values of freehold premises and the dearth of any for renting. Other rural retailing activities, and even affordable housing for the indigenous population, are disappearing for the same reason.

Self-help and invention, the offspring of necessity, have always been notable attributes in country parts. Consider the Wesleyan and Baptist chapels and how they sprang up by dint of subscription from the very poorest. So the commendable example of Wootton Courtenay (report and photograph, August 19) is not a complete novelty.

Having underlain a similar rescue here in Halstock, our main concern is how to sustain the enterprise in the long term. Whilst interest forgone on an investment of say £500 is a trivial 75p a week (a half-pint of beer), difficulties will arise when the original backers die or leave the village and the capital has to be repaid.

There are none the less ways by which durability can be achieved. One ingredient of the package would be parts of the model applied to shared ownership in rural housing. Another would be for parish councils to deploy the "twopenny rate". Dormant local charities, now that it is easier to change their original outmoded objectives, might also chip in.

Investigation into the most suitable type of corporate framework and into legal and accountancy structures is also needed to save other villages the hefty costs of mounting a rescue from scratch.

Irreversible economic forces have removed the original raison d'être of villages, and it behoves the remaining natives to welcome all new-

comers whose talents (including cash) can do much to revitalise many rural facilities.

Yours faithfully, DEREK SMITH, Sydney Farm, Halstock, Yeovil, Somerset, August 20.

From the Chairman of Spar (UK) Limited

Sir, As the UK chief executive of the largest organisation of village shops (2,450 in the UK and 20,000 worldwide) I applaud your leader, "The megastore menace". However, I would like to add a number of points to your own thoughts.

The survival and prosperity of village shops depend on their operators using the same modern techniques of management that the supermarkets use. This means adopting the means to measure and evaluate efficiency, profit, range and prices. We would argue that village shops will find all these techniques available if they join one of the major groups of independent stores.

Despite the gloomy picture painted by the Verdict report and your editorial, Spar's sales have risen 92 per cent in the past six years — only marginally less than the average for multiples. This success reflects not just our ability to buy in bulk, but also our ability to get our members to act like multiples in terms of management and efficiency.

New technology such as personal computers and scanning has made so much more possible. When you add the personal service and friendliness of an owner-operator, the future need not be so bleak as many would believe.

Yours faithfully, JOHN IRISH, Chairman and Chief Executive, Spar (UK) Limited, 32-40 Headstone Drive, Harrow, Middlesex, August 19.

## No-fault compensation

From Dr J. Stuart Horner

Sir, The revised guidelines on local research ethics committees (LRECs), finally issued by the Department of Health on August 19 (report, August 20) fail to address concerns voiced by the British Medical Association when it was consulted on the proposals as long ago as October 1989.

The prohibition of no-fault compensation for any study which takes place under the auspices of the NHS means that a person suffering injury through participating in such a study would have to pursue a claim for negligence through litigation. This is a long and costly process, with no guarantee of a satisfactory outcome for the victim; it does not seem to "safeguard the rights of volunteers" as Mrs Bottomley (minister for health) has stated, and the BMA recommends that all research protocols should include provision for no-fault compensation.

In relation to multicentre research, the guidelines state that "each LREC is free to arrive at its own decision when considering a proposal which is planned to take place in more than one area". This is

incompatible with the subsequent statement that one LREC should be nominated to consider the issues on behalf of them all.

The BMA is aware that LRECs vigorously defend their rights to exercise their autonomy and will no doubt wish to continue to do so. If a single committee is to make a decision in the area of multicentre research, that committee should be representative of all those whose views it must take into account.

The BMA has long argued for the need for a properly constituted national research ethics committee to consider the areas of multicentre and national research. The revised DoH guidelines in no way diminish the need for such a body.

Finally, it seems ludicrous that the BMA is omitted from the list of professional organisations producing guidance on research ethics, when its medical ethics committee has, since 1965, scrutinised national protocols for the Office of Population Censuses and Surveys.

Yours faithfully, J. STUART HORNER, Chairman, Medical Ethics Committee, British Medical Association, BMA House, Tavistock Square, WC1, August 20.

## No meeting of ways

From Mr Uvedale Tristram

Sir, Though Clifford Longley's views (August 17) on ecumenism in general and Martin Luther in particular are no doubt sincere, they will be anathema to many Catholics like myself and to many Anglicans who remember that Luther was a renegade monk who broke his vows, a bad priest who married a nun and a heretic who shattered church unity.

As for Father Philip Endean's remark that Luther and St Ignatius faced similar problems, the truth is that St Ignatius dealt with those problems in God's way and Luther dealt with them in his own proud way — the way of a rebel and heretic.

Yours faithfully, UVEDALE TRISTRAM, 19 Mallards Reach, Weybridge, Surrey.

## Rank ignorance

From Mr A. McHaffie

Sir, We are frequently sent letters addressed to: Mr Herbert Warehouse, Leisure Services Officer, Gloucester City Council, and thought you could add this to your section of mis-addressed letters.

Yours, A. MCHAFFIE (City Leisure Services Officer), City of Gloucester Leisure Services Department, Herbert Warehouse, The Docks, Gloucester, August 19.

From Mr John Woolf

Sir, "Illustrious Director" began the letter in pidgin-English, from an Italian composer anxious for performances of his works. I felt a little flattered at such extravagance.

Then, I noticed that the writer (who must have shown the letter to someone with a far greater knowledge of standard English practice) had, very neatly, placed a thin line through the original form of address and equally neatly, had substituted "Dear Sir".

Yours faithfully, JOHN WOOLF, Park Lane Group (Music charity), Bedford Chambers, Covent Garden Piazza, WC2, August 19.



## SOCIAL NEWS

## Today's royal engagements

The Duchess of York will visit Ruchill Hospital, Bilsland Drive, Glasgow, at 10.00; and, as Patron of the Motor Neurone Disease Association, will visit the Western General Hospital, Crewe Road, Edinburgh, at noon.

## Birthdays today

Mr Dave Alderson, governor, Easter Prisons, 58; Mr P.H.E. Allsop, publisher, 57; Mr John Banham, director-general, CBI, 51; Mr Marc Bohan, fashion designer, 65; Mr Ray Bradbury, author, 71; Professor Sir Colin Buchanan, urban planner, 84; M Henri Cartier-Bresson, photographer, 83; Major-General Earl Cairncross, 72; Sir Richard Catling, former Commissioner of Kenyan Police, 79; Professor Sir Cyril Askey Clarke, geneticist, 84; Mr Steve Davis, snooker player, 34; Mr Somerset de Chair, former MP, 80; Judge Anne Downey, 55; Baroness Ewart-Biggs, 62; Mr Max Hebditch, director, Museum of London, 54; Mr Donald MacLeary, ballet dancer, 54; Sir James Meenan, former principal, Queen Mary College, 70; Sir Les Platky, civil servant, 72; General Norman Schwarzkopf, Commander-in-Chief US Central Command, 57; Mr Karlheinz Stockhausen, composer and conductor, 63; Sir Anthony Tuke, former chairman, Barclays Bank, 71; Mr Mats Wilander, tennis player, 27.

## Appointments

Latest appointments include: Commander, Sally Hubbard, Metropolitan Police, to be Assistant Inspector of Constabulary.

## Couple who fled from nazis thank Britain

By JOHN SHAW

A COUPLE who fled from Nazi Germany in 1934 and settled in London have left works of art to the nation in thanks for the sanctuary they found in Britain.

Norbert and Greta Magnus who lived in Eaton Square, Belgrave, left the bulk of their estate, worth over £250,000, to the National Arts Collections Fund.

Mr Magnus died last month aged 85, five years after his wife. Their collection includes a Regency sofa table by George Bullock who began his career as a sculptor and became one of the most important furniture makers of the period. There is also a Regency cupboard with simulated bamboo surrounds and inlaid door panels similar to the furniture at the Royal Pavilion, Brighton.

Three Marianne drawings and a Rouault will go to the British Friends of the Art Museum of Israel and the couple's silver

## Anniversaries

BIRTHS: Thomas Tredgold, engineer, Brandon, Durham, 1788; John Forrest, 1st Baron Forrest, explorer and politician, Bunbury, Western Australia, 1847; Claude Debussy, composer, Saint Germain-en-Laye, 1862; Jacques Lipchitz, sculptor, Druskininkai, Lithuania, 1891.

DEATHS: Richard III, reigned 1483-85, killed at the battle of Bosworth Field, 1485; Jean-Honoré Fragonard, painter, Paris, 1806; Warren Hastings, 1st governor-general of India, Daylesford, Oxon, 1818; George Shillibeer, pioneer of omnibuses, Brighton, 1866; Robert Cecil, 3rd Marquess of Salisbury, prime minister 1885-86, 1887-92, 1895-1900, 1900-02, 1905-10, 1915-19, 1921-23; Michael Collins, Irish patriot and IRA leader, killed in an ambush, Beal-na-Blath, Cork, 1922; Sir Oliver Lodge, physicist, Lake, Wilts, 1940; Michel Fokine, ballet dancer and choreographer, New York, 1942; William Richard Morris, 1st Viscount Nuffield, motor car magnate and philanthropist, Hungercombe, Oxon, 1963, French forces landed in Ireland, 1798.

## Reception

English-Speaking Union: Mr David Kidd, Director-General of the English-Speaking Union of the Commonwealth, and Mr Simon Freeman, ESU Director of Education, received the guests at a reception held last night at Dartmouth House for foreign students attending the 1991 English Language Summer School, organised by the ESU, the BBC and International House. The ESU's International Public Speaking Competition for foreign students learning English was held earlier.

## Marriages

Mr P. Cunningham and Miss P. Bain. The marriage took place on August 17, 1991, in the Royal Chapel, Windsor Great Park, of Mr Paul Cunningham, son of Mr and Mrs Lawrence Cunningham, of Ilford, Essex, to Miss Patricia Bain, daughter of Mr and Mrs David Bain, FRCS, and Mrs Bain of Windsor, Berkshire. Canon Michael Moxon officiated, and the Very Rev John Tredgold gave an address.

The bride who was given in marriage by her father, was attended by Thomas and Emily Turner. Mr Geoffrey Matthews was best man.

A reception was held at Queen's Eyot. Mr N.M. Harley and Miss E. E. Harley. The marriage took place on Saturday, August 17, at St Margaret's Church, Chippingstead, Surrey, between Mr Nicholas Harley, younger son of Mr and Mrs Michael Harley, and Miss Katherine Eileen Dew, younger daughter of Dr and Mrs Robin Eileen Dew. The Rev James Goodden and the Rev James Bethell officiated.

## Forthcoming marriages

Mr D.J. Fowler-Watt and Miss K.T. Menger. The engagement is announced between Duncan, son of Mr and Mrs D.G. Fowler-Watt, of Brambley, East Grinstead, and Karen, only daughter of Mr and Mrs R.D. Menger, of Newbury, Berkshire. Lieutenant D.J. Gosson, RN, and Miss M.E.R. Woolcombe. The engagement is announced between Lieutenant D.J. Gosson, RN, son of Mr and Mrs P.R. Gosson, of 21 Cose Mead, Clevedon, Bristol, and Miss M.E.R. Woolcombe, of Hemond House, Plympton, Devon, and the late Mrs Woolcombe.

Mr P.A.H. Hooper and Miss C.E. Evers. The engagement is announced between Peter, son of Mr and Mrs L.A. Hooper, of Burnham-on-Crouch, Essex, and Caroline Frances, daughter of Major and Mrs C.G. Evers, of Guildford, Surrey. Mr E.W. Hume-Kendall and Miss C.E. Corbett. The engagement is announced between Rupert, youngest son of the late Dr Patrick Hume-Kendall and of Mrs Richard Rawlings, of Blackham, Kent, and Caroline, younger daughter of Mr and Mrs Richard Corbett, of Loose Valley, Kent.

## House open

Frogmore House and grounds at Windsor are open to September 29 from 11.00am to 5.00pm, Wednesday to Saturday, and from noon to 5.00pm on Sundays. Last admission 4.00pm.

## OBITUARIES

## WILLIE GERTLER

Willie Gertler, who was for many years agent for Levi jeans in the United Kingdom and eastern Europe, died on August 16 aged 84. He was born in Budapest on January 30, 1907.

AS A Times business diary item remarked prophetically on December 18, 1970: "If Willie Gertler has his way, when East meets West, in future, both will be wearing Levi jeans. The archetypal garb of cowboys and campus kids is apparently in great demand in communist countries." Willie Gertler was the first to introduce Levi not only to the United Kingdom in 1959 but also behind the Iron Curtain as early as January 1971.

His initiative in becoming the sole distributor in Britain for Levi was characteristic of his drive and methods. When dollar imports into the country were liberalised and the Levi agency was up for offer there were 70 applicants desperately keen to seize a share in the fortunes of the world's largest trouser maker, whose products had been known by reputation in this country for many years past. Gertler borrowed the samples of the Levi Strauss agent for an hour and in that time booked orders worth £400 in local shops. From that point on he never looked back and the successful storm of the Soviet Union scarcely ten years later was a forgone conclusion. In the intervening period Levi jeans had become a useful form of unofficial currency among impecunious travellers to the



USSR and its satellites, with students often astonished at the number of bottles of Crimean champagne or Polish pure spirit which could be purchased by the production of even the most worn pair. Born of Jewish parents in Hungary, Gertler had arrived in England as a refugee from Nazi-controlled Austria in the Spring of 1939. He started his working life in Britain as a packer and worked his way up to become managing director of an export/import company. In 1953 he formed his own company, F. J. Gertler & Co, distributing fashion rainwear. A keen footballer as a boy and a supporter in manhood of the Fulham team, he delighted in kicking the entire side out in Valmeline raincoats in the

days of Bobby Robson, Jimmy Hill and Johnny Haynes.

One agency led to another until 1959 when he became Mr Levi for the UK. Sales were soon doubling with every year and eventually the Levi Strauss account came to amount to 90 per cent of Gertler's business. But though he reposed in the confidence that he was selling to Europe what he called "the world's strongest trouser", Gertler never rested on his laurels when it came to the sales pitch. His promotion was acknowledged by rivals to be quite brilliant, whether it meant cramming the shapely bottoms of Playboy club bunny girls into the product or building a pair of Levi's with a 75-inch waist and offering a prize to the man whom they fitted. His supply operation, tailored to the demands of individual customers, was also second to none.

In 1972 he officially retired and went on to write his autobiography, *Selling is my Game* (1974), which told the story of his life from his youth in the poverty-stricken and Nazi-dominated Europe of the 1930s to his later success. He also continued to devote his energies to charitable work including donating two ambulances to Israel.

Gertler's life and work featured in BBC's *Design Classics* series and in April this year he participated in Radio Four's *Magical Moments* *Shrink to Fit* programme.

His wife, Josephine, died in 1989; he leaves a son and daughter.

## PROFESSOR WILLIAM HOUSTON

William Houston, professor of orthodontics at London university, died while on a climbing holiday in the Swiss Alps on August 17 aged 53. He was born on June 6, 1938.

WILLIAM Houston, professor of orthodontics in the University of London since 1974, made an outstanding contribution to teaching and research, especially in the field of facial growth. He was Dean of the Royal Dental Hospital when it was threatened with closure and he argued passionately for its continued existence. However, once the decision had been taken for its closure, he worked tirelessly to ensure that the interests of staff and students were protected and that the merger between the Royal Dental Hospital, London School of Dental Surgery and the United Medical Schools of Guy's and St Thomas's Hospitals Dental School would be a success.

William John Ballantyne Houston qualified from Edinburgh in 1960 and decided to specialise in orthodontics. Within four years he was appointed to a junior lectureship at the Royal Dental Hospital and arrived to find that the was replacing a senior lecturer and was immediately



responsible for teaching post-graduates with an impending examination. Over the years he established the department's reputation as a leading centre for orthodontic research and teaching. He was appointed to a chair in orthodontics in 1974. In formal lectures he had the gift of making difficult concepts easy to comprehend, speaking with a compelling clarity and enthusiasm. As an early convert to the works of Karl Popper, his scientific approach and mathematical abilities attracted him to the complex problems of craniofacial measurement and the prediction of facial growth.

He was a pioneer in the use of computers as an aid to all aspects of clinical orthodontics. This early influence led to the adoption of national computer standards for the specialty. His many books have become standard texts at home and abroad and he was working on a much needed book on cephalometry but unfortunately this was only partially completed.

He was convinced that those who were proceeding to higher orthodontic qualifications should receive appropriate research training. This, coupled with an increase in clinical training, led nationally to the adoption of a three-year course. At the time of his death he was fighting to maintain the teaching of orthodontics at centres of excellence in the face of the changes which are being brought about by "achieving a balance" in which training posts are being disseminated around the country.

He was editor of the *European Journal of Orthodontics*, which now enjoys an enviable international reputation. He enjoyed close links with colleagues throughout the European Community and became president of the European Orthodontic Society in 1988.

At the time of his death he was involved in drawing up recommendations with a view to harmonising orthodontic training in Europe.

It was said on more than one occasion amongst his colleagues how fortunate it was that a man of such enormous talents should have chosen an academic career in orthodontics. He was a man of many parts and even those who knew him were frequently astonished to discover yet another facet of his interests. He was a very private person who had many friends but few would have regarded themselves as close to a man who had the energy and abilities to excel in such diverse interests. He was widely read, aided by the ability to manage on four or five hours sleep nightly, and he enjoyed sailing, orienteering, hill walking and climbing. He was a member of the Swiss Alpine Club and it was in the Alps which he so loved that he met his untimely death.

The loss of such an outstanding academic further reduces the number of teachers in a specialty whose senior academic ranks are already severely depleted.

He is survived by his wife, a son and a daughter.

## Church news

Clergy Appointments: West Archdeacon of Hereford: The Rev Canon Leonard Moss, Bishop's Social Responsibility Officer for the diocese of Hereford, is to be Archdeacon of Hereford, succeeding the Ven Andrew Woodhouse who retires in September.

The Rev Richard Buckner, formerly Chaplain, Merchant Taylors' School (London), to be Chaplain, Gresham's School (Norwich).

The Rev Jeffrey Burditt, Assistant Curate, Saffron Walden Team Ministry, to be Vicar, Hatfield Peverel w. Ulling (Chesham).

The Rev Richard Burton, Rector, Bishop Burton w. Walkington; to be Vicar, Tadcaster w. Newton Kyme (York). The Rev Philip Crowe, Principal, Salisbury and Wells Theological College; to be also a Canon of Salisbury Cathedral (non-residential, prebendal stall of Alton Borealis) (Salisbury).

The Rev Canon Wilfred Down, Team Rector, Marlborough Team Ministry; to be a Canon Emeritus of Salisbury Cathedral on retirement on July 9. The Rev Alan Duke, Vicar, St Luke's parish church, Tonquay (Exeter); to be Rector, Barbican St John the Baptist, w. Bishopsbourne, St Mary and Kingston, St Giles (Canterbury). The Rev John Fletcher, Vicar, Chadwell Heath, St Chad; to be also Area Dean of Barking and Dagenham (Chelmsford).

The Rev David Greenman, Vicar, Bare (Blackburn); to be Vicar, Market Lavington and Easterton (Salisbury).

The Rev Raymond Jones, Army Chaplain, to be Team Vicar, Ridgeway Team Ministry, and Religious Programmes Producer, BBC Wiltshire Sound (Salisbury). The Rev Donald Knight, Incumbent, St Ruan w. St Grade and Landewednack (Truro); to be Rector, High Offley w. Norbury (Lichfield).

## Archaeology

## Bracelets at burial site shed light on Asian metalworkers

By NORMAN HAMMOND, ARCHAEOLOGY CORRESPONDENT

EVIDENCE of bronze working 4,500 years ago has been found in Thailand. Bracelets of the alloy accompanied burials at the site of Nong Nor, and the early date confirms the independent development of metalworking in southeast Asia.

The site, close to the Gulf of Siam in the valley of the Bang Pakong river, was excavated earlier this year by Professor Charles Higham of the University of Otago, New Zealand, and Rachana Bannanurong of the Thai government in Bangkok.

The investigations follow excavations at the larger site of Khok Phanom Di, about nine miles to the north, which revealed a cemetery spanning 20 generations of prehistoric occupants over the period 2000-1500 BC.

Nong Nor yielded nearly 50 burials, although others remain to be excavated; they fall into three successive periods, dating between 2600 and 2200 BC.

In the first period the burials were laid out in a line, about a yard apart, but this formal cemetery organisation was discontinued, although relatives were probably still buried close to each other. One burial was of a very robust man aged about 40 and nearly six feet tall, "significantly taller than any other prehistoric person identified

in Thailand", the investigators say.

Grave goods included pottery vessels, shell ornaments and beads, and stone bracelets, and several burials also had dog or pig bones among the offerings. In the latest period, four graves had bronze bracelets.

"We have been surprised by the presence of bronze bracelets by the mid-third millennium BC," Professor Higham and his colleagues say. "It is now predicted that bronze working in central Thailand

will one day be dated well back into the third millennium BC."

"Although the history of bronze metallurgy in the Middle East and the Balkans goes back further in time, there is no evidence of long-distance contact with southeast Asia. The genesis of metalworking in Thailand seems to have been independent of other centres, although contact with early Chinese cultures which also used bronze by the late third millennium BC cannot be ruled out."

## Digging up a grisly past

Hans Stampfli in *Archaeology*. One woman had had her feet amputated.

At the edge of the area the excavators found hundreds of horse skeletons. Because Pope Gregory III had forbidden the consumption of horseflesh in AD 732, dead horses were buried entire, and the job was usually delegated to the public hangman. He employed a knacker to skin and dismember the corpses so that they could be buried in a smaller hole.

The skeleton of a large dog, lacking its head, was found lying on a human skeleton. This suggests that they were hanged together, a form of execution considered especially shameful.

## STEPHEN COPPOCK

Stephen Coppock, mathematician and designer of anti-tank shells for the British army in the second world war, died on August 18 aged 80. He was born on July 24, 1911.

STEPHEN Coppock was a distinguished mathematician who worked in the armament research department at Fort Halstead, Kent, during the second world war and helped develop high velocity anti-tank rounds which tilted the balance between British field artillery and German heavy tanks in the Normandy battles. After research on internal ballistics he was attached to the terminal ballistics branch which was responsible for the design and development of the armour-piercing discarding sabot shot (APDS).

By D-Day (June 1944) the standard British 17-pdr anti-tank gun was no match for the armour and configuration of the latest German tanks, naturally a matter of grave concern to forces who would be facing the latest in German armoured fighting vehicles. But the introduction of the super-velocity APDS shot shifted the balance. The success of the 6-pdr and 17-pdr APDS shot in the Normandy campaign enabled General Montgomery to tell the Secretary of State for War that his forces no longer feared the German Tiger and Panther tanks. Though continuing research and development were needed, the discarding sabot was one of the most effective anti-armour projectiles ever produced.

A brilliant theorist, Coppock wrote a number of important research papers on the APDS project in collaboration with Permuter, the Hungarian engineer who had brought the original concept from France in 1940.

In a somewhat grudging recognition of the civilian scientific contribution to the sabot project only one award was given after the war. This

went fairly enough to Permuter.

Stephen William Coppock was born into a family of yeoman farmers long established at Headington, near Oxford, a background of which he was always proud. Educated at the City of Oxford High School, he won an open scholarship to St John's College, Oxford, where he gained a first class degree in mathematics in 1933.

Advised to take a second degree, he only managed a third in physics in 1934 and though he started work for a DPhil and was awarded a senior mathematical scholarship in 1936, he eventually abandoned academic research to become a schoolmaster, teaching up to 1940 first at Christ's Hospital and then at Bradford Grammar School.

The outstanding qualities he displayed in his work on the sabot project ensured him a successful post-war career in the Ministry of Defence. He became successively deputy chief scientific officer; deputy head of scientific services, British Joint Services Mission, Washington, DC, in 1950; deputy scientific adviser to the Army Council in 1954; director of artillery (research and development) 1958; and finally principal superintendent at the Royal Armament Research and Development Establishment at Fort Halstead from 1962 to 1972.

He married, in 1947, Denise Maudslayi, a Frenchwoman of charm and distinction who died at a tragically early age in 1966. Coppock was a man of slow speech but impressive manner and great force of character who had wide intellectual interests. He was a good pianist and a musicologist for whom J. S. Bach was the supreme composer. Though confined by a crippling disease in his later years to a wheelchair and a nursing home, he never lost his intellectual vigour or his capacity for friendship.

## MARGARET READ

D. A. Howell writes

I WONDER if I might add to your obituary of Margaret Read a brief comment on the very considerable contribution her work as an educator made to the developing world and to Britain's relationships with many countries.

One of the first important contributions she made after becoming professor of education in tropical areas at the University of London's Institute of Education was her membership of the Elliot commission which recommended the setting up of modern universities and colleges of advanced technology in British West Africa, as it then was. She took a lively interest in their subsequent growth and development.

At the time she was appointed to the chair of education in London many of the future leaders and senior officials of newly independent countries, and those about to become independent, were teachers. A great many of them passed through her department and the experience they had was influential

in building their self-confidence. Her view, expressed in simple yet eloquent terms, that respect should be paid to existing cultures and that change could only be brought about pragmatically by understanding indigenous customs, was a revelation to many of her students who had been brought up to believe that progress lay in slavishly imitating Western models.

Long after her retirement from the Institute she remained a figure commanding enormous respect, with access to people of the most senior levels in Africa, India and the Middle East. The failure of many development projects based on incorrect premises illustrates how far in advance of its time much of her thinking was. Margaret Read belonged to a remarkable generation of British women whose far-sightedness and sensitivity made a contribution to international understanding and thinking about the social issues of the twentieth century which has yet to be properly assessed.

## Architecture school spreads royal vision

By MARCUS BONNEY, ARCHITECTURE CORRESPONDENT

THE Prince of Wales's architecture summer school has been eight times over subscribed for the second year running. Its 25 students working beneath the gothic vaults of the ante-chapel at Magdalen College, Oxford, will move on Sunday to the British School in Rome and then the Villa Lante, to complete their six-week course.

The course has been publicised in every architectural school in western Europe and north America, and this year students have come from Poland, Czechoslovakia and Romania, with help from the British Council.

A strong emphasis is placed on drawing, with many students keen to explore their talents. "The studio is still half full at midnight," one student said.

The students express a strong interest in re-awakening and developing the architectural traditions of their own countries. A reunion of 15 of last year's 25 students from around the world demonstrates the links the school fosters.

The students begin by making detailed drawings of the classical orders of architecture with all their mouldings, under the guidance of the architect, Julian Bicknell. Some drawings are of exquisite quality. All regularly attend life classes. Having been to Oxford's Botanic Gardens to sketch, they are now producing plaster casts of ornaments based on their drawings. Some students have

had their first taste of stone carving.

This week the students have been studying the problem of righting the damage done by recent buildings to an Oxford street. Maurice Culot, their tutor from Paris, says: "Many projects in architectural schools are set with little regard for the street context. This year we are concentrating not only on design but open spaces and the uses of the buildings."

The summer school grew from a suggestion in the Prince's book, *A Vision of Britain*, that something was missing in the curriculum of architectural schools. One of last year's students, Patricia Gilmartin from Canada, says: "It completely changed my life. I returned to set up my own office working with Cree Indians to design buildings based on their own history and interpretation of nature."

## Royal visits

The Duchess of York will visit New York from September 4 to 6.

The Duke of York will visit Papua New Guinea from September 6 to 11 to open the 9th South Pacific Games at the invitation of the Papua New Guinea government.

The Prince of Wales will visit Switzerland on September 7 for the 700th anniversary celebrations of the Swiss Confederation.

Prince Edward, as an International Trustee of the Duke of Edinburgh's Award, will visit Canada and Hong Kong from October 23 to November 1.

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**BBC 1**

6.00 **Crest** 6.30 **BBC Breakfast News**  
6.45 **Around the World with Willy Fog** (Cartoon) (9.35 **Heartbeat**) (Cartoon) 10.00 **News**, regional news and weather  
10.05 **Playdays** (9.10 **Celebrity Double Date**). Game show with guests: John, Jeffrey, Howard, and *Silks of a Feather* stars Linda Robson and Pauline Weller (9.10)  
10.50 **The O Zone**. Chart-orientated pop music magazine 11.00 **News**, regional news and weather  
11.05 **Junior Pot Black**. Eamon Holmes introduces the knockout match between England's Daniel Bustin and Matthew Stevens from Wales, both aged 14, who compete in the third round for the television trophy  
11.30 **Living on the Edge**. Vernon Egan, servant of the Lord. A preacher spreads the word in the Shetland Islands (9.10)  
11.55 **The History Man**. Lyndisday Egan. Bryan McInerney visits the once magnificent palace of the bishops of Lincoln in Rutland 12.00 **News**, regional news and weather  
12.05 **The Garden Party**. Anne Gregg visits Tenby and explores the county of Pembrokeshire. Presented by Debbie Greenwood, Paul Coll and David Tully. 12.55 **Regional News** and weather  
1.00 **One O'Clock News**, weather  
1.30 **Neighbours**. Australian soap. (Cartoon)  
1.50 **A Summer Journey: The Bristol Channel Coast - Towards the Atlantic**. In the final part of her journey, Angela Rippon samples the delights of the Bristol Channel and the island of Lundy  
2.20 **Film: Hotel Sahara** (1951, b/w). Fantastic comedy set in the second world war about a shabby hotel in the desert, whose owners change allegiance depending on the current occupying forces. Starring Peter Ustinov and Yvonne de Carlo. Directed by Ken Annakin  
3.55 **Tom and Jerry Double Bill**. Cartoons (9)  
4.10 **Report the Beat**. Cartoon (9) 4.15 **The All New Popeye Show**. Cartoon double-bill (9) 4.30 **Animal House**. A comedy-drama (9) 5.00 **Newsround** 5.05 **Record Breakers**. More attempts to break or make a record (9)  
5.35 **Neighbours**. (9). (Cartoon). Northern Ireland: Sportsworld. 5.40 **Uster**  
6.00 **One O'Clock News**, weather  
6.30 **Regional News**, weather. Northern Ireland: Neighbours (9). (Cartoon)  
7.00 **Top of the Pops** with Bruno Brookes (in stereo on Radio 1)  
7.30 **EastEnders**. (Cartoon)  
8.00 **Some Mothers Do 'Ave 'Em**. Anarchic comedy starring Michael Crawford as the sociopathic Frank Spencer, here persuaded by his beleaguered wife Betty (Michelle Dotrice) to take a crash course in public relations (9). (Cartoon)  
8.30 **The Liza Minnelli Show**. Another showcase of the talented comedienne, whose guests include actors Patrick Mower and Roger Lloyd Pack. Triggers in *Only Fools and Horses*. (Cartoon)  
9.00 **Nine O'Clock News**, weather



Film meets fantasy head on: Catherine Zeta-Jones (9.30pm)

9.30 **Play on One: Out of the Blue**  
9.30 **CHOICE: Graham Allcock's play** is set in a warehouse studio where Alan (Colin Firth) and his friends make a play. Enter the glamorous Cathy (Catherine Zeta-Jones), who immediately takes Alan's fancy and becomes irresistible to him. The romance founders because Alan is unable to distinguish between the make-believe world of his job and the real one outside. Cut to half an hour, the theme might just have been sustainable but *Although* has trouble stretching it to 90 minutes. Nor can the excellent Firth breathe life into a dull central character. There is compensation in a lively subplot involving Alan's wayward set designer (John Lynch), who manages to lose a finger and finds little sympathy from his prickly girlfriend (Cathy Tyson). Director Nick Hamm enjoys himself with a busy visual style but the piece is often as shallow and artificial as the world it depicts  
10.50 **Capital News: Flashback**. ... Not Dumas. American drama series set among the hubbub of a Washington newspaper. Northern Ireland: Greening; 11.15 **Capital News**  
11.35 **James Taylor in Concert** (9). Northern Ireland: 12.00-1.05am **James Taylor in Concert** 12.45am **Weather**

**BBC 2**

6.45 **Open University: Patterns of Evolution**. Ends at 7.10  
8.00 **News**  
8.15 **Return of the Aces**. American second world war pilots return to their former base at Steple Morden in Cambridgeshire (9)  
8.45 **Past and Present: Preserved Delta Ego**. An exhibition celebrating 2,000 years of Dutch hydraulic engineering (9)  
9.00 **Severely Disabled: The Story of a Farm** - Today, Tony Herman, and his son now run Grove Farm as a modernised concern (9)  
9.30 **Film: Lancelotti: The Miracle** (1977). More canine antics with the devoted colts, who befriend a mute boy. Starring Michael James Ward. Directed by Dick Mader and Jack B. Lively  
10.45 **Holiday Outing: Bally**. Bill Buckley visits Starcoast World at Pwllheli in north Wales, a former Sunday  
10.50 **Colchester: England v Sri Lanka**. Tony Lewis introduces live coverage of the first day's play of the Test from Lord's  
1.05 **Master Craftsman: The Furniture Maker**. Tim Stead's love affair with wood (9) 1.20 **Greenwich** (9)  
1.35 **Cricote: England v Sri Lanka**. Further coverage from Lord's. Including at 2.00 and 3.00 **News** and weather 3.05 **News** and weather. Regional news and weather

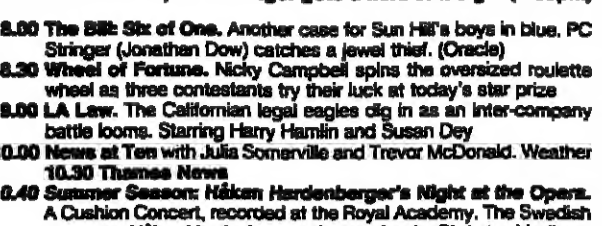


Gloucester Shirley McGlade embarks on the pageant trail (6.40)

6.40 **War Babies**  
6.40 **CHOICE: Film of American servicemen** intermingling during the second world war introduces Dennis Adams's documentary about British children trying to trace their GI fathers. Some 100,000 Britons were born to American servicemen, some in wedlock but many not. For a few of the offspring meticulous detective work pays off, leading to last meetings at American airports. Others are frustrated by US bureaucracy, trying to play up the embarrassment of illegitimate births. Shirley McGlade, a grandmother from Birmingham, is one of the products of a short-lived wartime romance. Having been fortunate enough to find her American father, she starts a campaign to help others. Her determination takes her across the Atlantic where she is patronised by a New York senator but finds a sympathetic lawyer prepared to start litigation against the American government. (Cartoon)  
7.30 **Business Matters: Taking Care**. Claire Wainwright visits community projects to find out whether they are merely an exercise in public relations. Wales: Gaining Together  
8.00 **On the Line**. Highlighting the split between Olympic silver medalist Liz McColgan and her coach John Anderson, Dave Shannon examines the relationship between athletes and coach in a sport which is amateur in name only  
8.30 **A Year with Fred: The Price of Steaks**. The third of six films about the Bolton stockpiled Fred Dibnah. Fed up with his husband's 17-year obsession with steam engines, Alison demands a divorce (9)  
9.00 **The Travel Show**. Penny Juno and team report from Sousse in Tunisia and the Eden Valley in Cumbria  
9.30 **Under the Sun: Wodabae** - Herdsmen of the Sun  
9.30 **CHOICE: The Wodabae** are nomadic herders who live along the southern edge of the Sahara. With possessions as meagre as they can pack up camp and move on within an hour, they have a basic and cheerful existence. It is a life of constant travel, a starting ritual in which the men parade in front of the women in a sort of reversal of the western beauty contest. The men make up their faces in garish red, yellow and blue and line up like a set of dolls in what could be the chorus of a bizarre musical comedy. The women run their eyes over the talent and make off into the bush with the men of their choice. It is splendid material for the German film director Werner Herzog, who needs to tell us how he has his camera in the right place. His only concession to artifice is the use of Western music, mainly Handel, Mozart and Verdi. The device is less incongruous than you might think. (Cartoon)  
10.20 **Volcano**. From the *Dolls' House*: Sybil the Girl Guide. Sybil Candace recalls the sad days of the Girl Guide movement (9)  
10.30 **News**  
11.15 **Cricote: England v Sri Lanka**. Highlights of the first day's play of the Test at Lord's 11.55 **Weather**  
12.00 **Weather**. A preview of Open University programmes. Ends at 12.15am

**ITV**

6.00 **TV-am**  
6.25 **Vicky the Viking** 6.50 **Thames News** and weather 9.55 **Short Story Theatre: The Violin**. A nomadic violinist shares his love of music with a young boy 10.25 **Just for the Record**. Mr Purvis, the world's weakest man (9) 10.50 **ITN News** headlines  
10.55 **A Walk Through the Hills**. Third of a five-part Australian drama about two brothers (9) 11.25 **On Tapes**. Cartoon 11.55 **Thames News** and weather 12.00 **Cartoon**, Mickey Mouse  
12.30 **ITN News** with John Suchet. Weather 1.10 **Thames News** and weather  
1.20 **Home and Away**. (Cartoon)  
1.50 **A Country Practice**. Australian medical drama  
2.00 **Anything Goes**. The weekly leisure magazine explores the Peak District's gardens and houses, ventures along the high farnes and bids for bargains at auction. Presented by Paul Barnes and Anthony Turner  
2.50 **All Chased Up**. David Hamilton quizzes married couples 3.15 **ITN News** headlines 3.20 **Thames News** headlines  
3.55 **Scouty Doo**. Cartoon animation 4.15 **Disney's Duck Tales** 4.40 **Fun Fair**. Stargate game show (9)  
5.10 **Who's the Boss?** Jonathan. American version of the sitcom *The Upper Hand*, about a male housekeeper and his female boss. Angela and Tony both have blind dates on St Valentine's day. Starring Tony Danza and Judith Light  
5.40 **ITN News** with Fiona Armstrong. (Cartoon) Weather  
5.55 **Thames Help**. Jackie Spradley investigates training as a benevolent counsellor  
6.00 **Home and Away**. Australian soap set in sunny Summer Bay (9). (Cartoon)  
6.30 **Thames News**  
7.00 **Emmerdale**. Farmyard drama. (Cartoon)  
7.30 **Sweet of the South**. The first 30 years. Killer Mouse. The actor Brian Blessed narrates the story of the predatory mouse of New Mexico (9). (Cartoon)



It's a fair cop: PC Stringer gets a hold of his girl (8.00pm)

8.00 **The Bill: Sgt of One**. Another case for Sun Hill's boys in blue. PC Stringer (Jonathan Dwyer) catches a jewel thief. (Cartoon)  
8.30 **Sweet of the South**. Nicky Campbell spins the oversized roulette wheel as three contestants try their luck at today's star prize  
8.50 **LA Law**. The Californian legal eagles dig in as an inter-company battle looms. Starring Larry Hagman and Susan Dey  
10.00 **News** at Ten with Julia Somerville and Trevor McDonald. Weather 10.30 **Thames News**  
10.40 **Summer Season: Håkan Hardenberger's Night at the Opera**. A Cuspian Concert, recorded at the Royal Academy, the Swedish trumpet Håkan Hardenberger, the trombonist Christian Lindberg and the pianist Love Derwinger perform opera favourites, including items from Carmen, Romeo and Juliet and The Magic Flute  
11.40 **Cover-Up at Chernobyl** - A This Week Special. A revised report of this week's scandalous two-part investigation into the world's worst nuclear accident  
12.40am **The Twilight Zone: Night Crawlers**. Spine-chilling story about a Vietnam veteran who is terrified of falling asleep in case his nightmare memories of the war come true (9)  
1.00 **World Chess Championship**. The quarter-finals from Brussels  
1.15 **In the Heat of the Night: Triangle**. Drama series set in America's deep south. A businessman shoots his wife and her lover and the police must stop him from killing himself and his children. With Carol O'Connor and Howard Rollie  
2.10 **Film: Double Identity** (1974). Inventive drama about twin brothers who are separated during an air raid on a German city during the second world war. Years later, one is a successful chemist in the United States, the other a spy for the Russians. Starring Jean-Claude Bouillon. A German film with English dialogue. Directed by Rolf Thiele  
4.30 **Funny Fairs**. More stand-up comedy from Scotland  
4.50 **America's Top Ten**. The top ten groups of the Eighties (9)  
5.00 **Videoquest** (9)  
5.30 **ITN Morning News** with Anne Leuchars. Ends at 6.00

**CHANNEL 4**

6.00 **The Channel 4 Daily**  
6.25 **The World at Your Feet: Snowdonia**. A six-day trek from Caernarvon Castle to Conway Bay through 50 miles of Snowdonia national park in north Wales (9)  
10.25 **Famous for 4 Minutes** (9)  
10.30 **Flight Over Spain**. Allen Hargreaves narrates a plane's eye view of Castilian in eastern Spain  
11.00 **Power in the Pacific: Japan Comes First**. The second in a four-part series on the struggle for supremacy in the Pacific. Since 1945, Japan has risen from the ashes to become a world leader in technology  
12.00 **Something to Treasure: The Collectors**. In the first of seven programmes on memorabilia, Geoffrey Bond and Su Evans visit a house laden with 3,000 plates  
12.30 **Business Daily** 1.00 **Seamus Street** (9)  
2.00 **Channel 4 Reading from York**. Rough Scott introduces the line-up (subject to alteration): (2.05) *Gaiters Stakes*; (2.35) *Moorestyle*; *Convivial Stakes*; (3.10) *Keeneland Nunthorpe Stakes*; (3.45) *Bradford & Bingley Handicap*; (4.15) *Lowther Stakes*  
4.30 **Countdown**. Richard Whitley hosts the words and numbers game show  
5.00 **Laurel and Hardy**. Stan and Oke in more animated mishaps  
5.05 **The Open: Wednesday Show**. The actress Sally Field and her husband, producer Alan Greisman, talk about their new film *Soapdish*, set behind the scenes at a television soap opera  
6.00 **The Marshall Chronicles: Love Letters**. American comedy series about the exploits of a Manhattan teenager  
6.30 **Our Olympics**. Concluding the two-part coverage of the Special Olympics for disabled athletes, held in Glasgow last year  
7.00 **Channel 4 News**. (Teletext) Weather 7.50 **Comment**  
8.00 **Women of Wisdom: Ayia Khema**. Beginning a six-part series on spirituality from the point of view of six different women Ayia Khema, a German-born Buddhist, talks about her life, Buddhism and the meaning of love (Teletext)  
8.30 **Rising Damp**. Marvellous Seventies sitcom starring Leonard Rossiter as Rigby, the lecherous landlord of a seedy boarding house (9). (Teletext)



Balance sheet of a former chairman: Sir Kit McMahon (8.00pm)

8.00 **The Decline of the Midland Bank**  
8.00 **CHOICE: The financial journalist John Plender** offers an admirably lucid guide to the troubled recent history of the Listerbank. Operating from a majestic city headquarters designed by Sir Edwin Lutyens, the Midland was once the largest bank in the world. Then from the Seventies everything started to go wrong. Plender pinpoints the disastrous purchase of the Crocker bank in California, mounting third world debts and the failure to modernise the retail business at home. Brought in from the Bank of England to perform a rescue act, Sir Kit McMahon battled gamely before resigning earlier this year. Plender describes the decline of the Midland as a tale of ambition, bad luck and serious misjudgment. A former executive sums up the bank's current dilemma as "too small to be big, too big to be small". Plender wonders whether the Midland will still be there in another ten years  
10.00 **Film: Fatherland** (1986). Slow-moving and serpentine political thriller set in pre-unification Germany. An East German, haunted by the government for his political views, flees to West Berlin and learns that his father is living in exile in Cambridge. Starring Geralt Pannach and Friedrich Pabst. Directed by Ken Loach  
12.05am **Channel 4 News** 12.10am **Special**  
1.05am **The Manor of Ulster**. Penultimate episode of this four-part tapestry of witchcraft, religion and politics, set in Galicia in 1880. In Spanish with English subtitles. Ends at 2.10

**ITV VARIATIONS**

**ANGLIA**  
As London except 5.10pm-5.40 **Blockbuster** 5.50-7.00 **Anglia** 10.40 **Anything Goes** 11.15 **Playdays** 11.30 **News** 12.00 **News** 12.40 **Cartoon** 1.30 **News** 1.50 **Playdays** 2.00 **News** 2.30 **News** 3.00 **My Secret Identity**

**BORDER**  
As London except 5.10pm-5.40 **Home and Away** 5.50-7.00 **Blockbuster** 7.10-8.00 **Blockbuster** 8.10-9.00 **Blockbuster** 9.10-10.00 **Blockbuster** 10.10-11.00 **Blockbuster** 11.10-12.00 **Blockbuster** 12.10-1.00 **Blockbuster** 1.10-2.00 **Blockbuster** 2.10-3.00 **Blockbuster** 3.10-4.00 **Blockbuster** 4.10-5.00 **Blockbuster** 5.10-6.00 **Blockbuster** 6.10-7.00 **Blockbuster** 7.10-8.00 **Blockbuster** 8.10-9.00 **Blockbuster** 9.10-10.00 **Blockbuster** 10.10-11.00 **Blockbuster** 11.10-12.00 **Blockbuster** 12.10-1.00 **Blockbuster** 1.10-2.00 **Blockbuster** 2.10-3.00 **Blockbuster** 3.10-4.00 **Blockbuster** 4.10-5.00 **Blockbuster** 5.10-6.00 **Blockbuster** 6.10-7.00 **Blockbuster** 7.10-8.00 **Blockbuster** 8.10-9.00 **Blockbuster** 9.10-10.00 **Blockbuster** 10.10-11.00 **Blockbuster** 11.10-12.00 **Blockbuster** 12.10-1.00 **Blockbuster** 1.10-2.00 **Blockbuster** 2.10-3.00 **Blockbuster** 3.10-4.00 **Blockbuster** 4.10-5.00 **Blockbuster** 5.10-6.00 **Blockbuster** 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**FROM REUTER  
IN MOSCOW**

Outside the Russian parliament, the speaker, Ruslan Khasbulatov, thanked the civilian defenders who had surrounded the building for two days to protect it from attack. "In the name of the Russian parliament I thank you for your great work in these difficult days," he said.



## A rashness infects the body politic

The news of the coup's collapse was greeted by the head of the chancellor's office as "a marvellous victory for the people of the Soviet Union, and especially for Boris Yeltsin". Rudolf Seiters, speaking for Herr Kohl, said it was also great news for Germans who had followed the Soviet events with great anxiety. The outcome was the result of a united position by the West. Other German spokesmen said the events of

**BANK HOLIDAY**

**Away:** the best places to visit, to fairs, beaches to gardens. children on the last long now? turns into "but I don't

**Home:** Cool down over a s Antarctica and take a tip on that work just as

**Home or away:** Traffic jams Williams poem on the car as British August with Joan B minds around our

*The Times on Saturday*

**DAY WEEKEND**

urban and rural, from museums  
Plus a guide to occupying the  
weekend before 'what can I do  
'n't want to go back to school'  
Special *Times* offer of a trip to  
some interior decorating ideas  
is well out of doors  
med? Read the new Heathcote  
s killer, explore the joys of the  
lake and gather the family  
r Jumbo Crossword  
ay: order your copy today

Romania expressed its concern that it was now caught between two unstable countries, the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia, which were on the brink of civil war. A spokesman urged the West to step up direct and tangible support for Romania and other East European countries.

In Warsaw there were also signs of nervousness at the narrowness of the coup's fallout. Some of the many people queuing for visas outside Western embassies asked whether they could be sure that the same would not happen again in a week.

One man who appears to have remained in particularly good health is Aleksandr B. Mordukhovich, the Soviet foreign minister. He returned from holiday, declared himself satisfied with something else and appeared, presumably to go down until it was all over. Yesterday he emerged to become the return to legality said the Russian people suffered enough.

Doctors believe bed rest is much more effective against PCSS than the wives' remedy of frantically pedalling a bicycle back and forth.

**Home or away: Traffic jammed? Read the new Heathcote Williams poem on the car as killer, explore the joys of the British August with Joan Bakewell and gather the family minds around our Jumbo Crossword**

*The Times* on Saturday: order your copy today

**Solution to Puzzle No 18,690**

P	H	E	A	S	A	N	T	R	Y	I	T	C	H
I	X	E	I	E	O	E							
T	O	P	O	L	O	G	I	S	T	E	M	M	A
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I	E	O	L	S	R	A							
C	U	R	E	A	M	B	A	S	A	D	O	R	

7 It may be said to impart confidence in the theatre (5.7).  
10 Shining example of European co-operation (6.6).  
15 Reinterpret dialect in correspondence (9).  
17 One accepting engagement as intended (7).  
18 Set free with inside run, not being tackled (7).  
19 Making representations to your leader in position of management (7).  
20 Inclination to lose head charm (7).  
22 Mother with child and brood

London & SE  
C. London (within N & S Circs.) .....  
M-ways/roads M4-M1 .....  
M-ways/roads M1-Dartford .....  
M-ways/roads M2-M1 & T-M23 .....  
M-ways/roads M23-M4 .....  
M25 London Orbital only .....  
  
National:  
National motorways .....  
West Country .....  
Wales .....  
Midlands .....  
East Angles .....  
North-west England .....  
North-east England .....  
Scotland .....  
Northern Ireland .....  
  
AA Roadwatch is charged at 3  
min (cheap rate) and 45p per  
at all other times.

* denotes figure are latest available		For the latest results by region forecast	
		24 hours a day, dial 0656 500 followed by the appropriate code.	
	Bank	Bank	Greater London.
	Rate	Rate	Kent, Surrey, Sussex
Australia S	2.23	2.02	Consett, Harrogate & KOW
Australia Sth	2.20	2.08	Devon & Cornwall
Belgium	81.25	88.20	Wills, Glos, Avon, Somerset
Canada S	1.08	1.11	Berks, Bucks, Oxon
Denmark N	1.28	1.14	Sales, Harbs & Essex
Finland N	3.07	2.67	North, Suffolk, Cambs
France Fr	10.28	9.37	West Mid & Sth Glam & Gwent
Germany DM	3.07	2.67	Shrops, Herefords & Worcs
Greece Dr	386.00	315.00	Central Midlands
Hong Kong S	13.50	12.57	East Midlands
Ireland P	1.84	1.20	W. Hants, Dorset
Italy Lira	200.00	228.00	Dryed & Powys
Japan Yen	244.00	228.00	Gwynedd & Cwydd
Netherlands Gld	3.425	3.28	N W England
Norway	12.18	11.28	S W York & Dales
Portugal Esc	252.50	244.50	N England
South Africa Rd	5.30	4.76	Cumbria & Lake District
Spain Ptas	16.25	14.50	S W Scotland
Sweden Kr	11.21	10.45	N S Fife, Perth & Borders
Switzerland Fr	2.67	2.50	E Central Scotland
Turkey Liras	600.00	540.00	Grampian & E Highlands
USA \$	1.75	1.68	N W Scotland
Yugoslavia Dnr	DNB	40.00	W Central Scotland

"Your body man-  
tures the most pow-  
erful drug known to man-  
kind," says the  
advertising of Adre-  
nalin, which charges  
customers \$89 to leap  
tethered balloons. A  
firm briefs first-time  
tellers them: "This w

such as one brought water-skiier. He struck tree as he was stum backwards on bare feet 40 mph and is suing speedboat driver for negligence. And Nick LaBruzzy, a 17-year-old Michigan, is demanding \$10,000 from Nintendo company's toy-shop for a repeated strain injury to her arm that she claims was inflicted playing a popular video game.

**CHARLES BREMER**

CHARLES BREMNER

Time in contrast: 1m-2.2000h.

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